

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the time for the presentation of the Report of the Committee of Privileges on the question of privilege involved in the arrest of Shri Vishnu Ghanashyam Deshpande, M.P., be extended upto Thursday, the 10th July, 1952."

The motion was adopted.

GENERAL BUDGET—DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

DEMAND NO. 61—MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,16,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 62—BROADCASTING

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,41,91,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 121—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON BROADCASTING.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 44,93,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Broadcasting'."

Broadcasting Station for Poona

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Broadcasting facilities for rural parts of Bombay.

Shri S. S. More: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Differential rates paid to News-agencies particularly P.T.I. and consequent subsidisation of these agencies.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Tamil language and culture and broadcasts from A.I.R. Station in Tamilnad.

Shri Muniswamy (Tindivanam): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Censoring of Films

Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur cum Satara): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Mr. Speaker: All these cut motions are now before the House.

Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada): I very much prefer to broadcast than to speak on broadcast, and yet because broadcasting is such an important thing in this country, I am glad I have been given this opportunity of talking about broadcasting. I have got only fifteen minutes to do so, which is like trying to pour an ocean into a thimble. However, I would like to say that broadcasting has been neglected in this country. It has been very badly neglected and even side-tracked. Very recently I came to understand that the dark-spectacled Chief Minister of Madras said that broadcast by the radio was only meant for entertainment. He wears dark glasses, and I do not—that is why I cannot see eye to eye with him. Personally I believe that broadcasting is one of the most important things in this country to mould national opinion and national thought. I should like to touch on a very few points with regard to broadcasting. I take it, judging from the conditions that accrue in this country with regard to radio, that broadcasting has a very topheavy

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administration. It is a curious fact that superannuated lecturers are invited to act as Deputy Director Generals, while fresh and aspiring youth is hardly given a chance. In the British times, we had a semblance of being more progressive, but today all sense of progress has been put into the wastepaper basket. I have met hundreds of All India Radio artists all over the country, I have been a broadcaster myself for the past two decades or more, yet I have not found any one artist having a good word for the All India Radio.

Now I come straightway to another very important thing which should be looked into. And that is that in the name of economy, you are doing things which are most unfortunate, the truth being that there is no economy at all practised, except where it touches the poor artists, the poor staff and the poor people. Here I come to some important points regarding attempts on the part of the Government of India to subsidise and otherwise influence the Press Trust of India. Now, I should like to give a few facts with regard to this disproportionately large payment of subscriptions, for instance, to the PTI-Reuters by the News Service of the All India Radio, while PTI subscription, the usual rate for a comprehensive news service being supplied to first-class newspapers varies from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 per month, the amount paid by the All India Radio to PTI-Reuters under various heads comes to Rs. 20,000 per month. That is economy! The vast disparity in the amount of subscriptions paid by All India Radio to PTI-Reuters for the same quality and quantity—mark the word 'quantity'—of news services as are supplied to other news people, smacks of subsidizing, in order to enable them to carry on. I suppose, inspired propaganda and able pleading for the misdeeds, if I may say so, of the various sins of omissions and commissions on the part of the Government. This undoubtedly inflated rate of subscription is only for PTI-Reuters, where a special preferential treatment is given, which is not shown to other news agencies whose services are also subscribed to by the All India Radio. Generally speaking, the rate of payment for the PTI-Reuters by All India Radio comes to nearly eight to ten times more than the basis of payment in the case of other news agencies. While patronage in the shape of subscriptions to PTI-Reuters news services in different departments takes on this shape, the Central Government subscription to them, for a number of

departments, the Press Information Bureau, the Ministry of External Affairs and the Information and Broadcasting Ministry etc., put together give the PTI-Reuters increased financial assistance over and above the unduly inflated subscriptions paid to them by the News Service Division of All India Radio. It is very clear from this—at least to me, because I do not wear dark glasses—that Government departments do not care a bit to get themselves in touch with the different angles from which they could view the problems confronting the country. This also, I submit, is an indirect form of subsidy.

Government patronage is also extended to PTI in other shapes as well. I shall give you a case which happened very recently. I suppose it has become public news by now, that the PTI-Reuters' special representative also was sent along with the Cultural Delegation and Goodwill Mission which recently visited China, and that the air travel expenses for him were borne by the Government of India, while no such facilities were made available to other newspapers or agencies.

Well, cases have also been reported—unfortunately it has come to our ears—of Central Ministers having used their good offices to influence some newspapers in favour of the PTI-Reuters service. In this connection, it may be mentioned that a very influential Central Minister is intimately related to a top-ranking official of the PTI-Reuters. That is not all.

Now we come to something—connected with this, of course. It is with regard to American pressure that is brought in our country in all spheres, and now also in the sphere of All India Radio. A teleprinter was installed in the News Services Division of All India Radio recently at the fabulous cost of Rs. 72,000 a year. And what does this wonderful teleprinter give to our All India Radio? We are unable to use the stuff that is doled out to us, stuff from the U.S.A. which has nothing to do with us—like murders, rapes, small sport news from U.S.A. We use only about two to three thousand rupees worth a year of the things that we get. That is economy! Supposed to be economy!

Then, even anti-Communist propaganda is given to us in a very generous measure. Even the AIR finds it rather difficult to stomach this propaganda.

Now, I come to smaller things which are really very big. I should like to speak about the condition of artists in the All India Radio. I can speak with first-hand knowledge because I have mixed with them and I know them. They are treated like nothing on earth. They are not given any facilities. An artist who should be kept in perfect form, whose nerves should be kept in a sensitive atmosphere all the time in order to create—it is the artist, as a matter of fact, who does create things on the All India Radio; it is not the big officials that do it, but the artist does it—what chance has he to create beautiful things, great things for the country? He has not a room to sit in. He has not any place to wash his face. He is tired and you find that he has no place at all. He has not even transport facilities. There is a transport, however, I have seen that transport. Whenever I see the transport taking the artists up and down, I am reminded of the Moplah rebellion where so many of them were huddled together in a van. That is the sort of feeling that I get when I see the transport. An artist who has got to go in the middle of the night or towards early morning, has to pay for his transport if it is beyond two miles. This state of affairs is really incredibly sad.

Then, of course, we come to the Editors, for instance. Now, the 72,000 rupees I spoke of a little while ago, which is a waste, if we could avoid that 72,000 being given for a useless and almost mischievous teleprinter, we could have at least ten new Editors on Rs. 600 a month. 'But we cannot give you more Editors, we must keep the teleprinter—God knows for what?'—and, of course, we cannot, in the name of economy, increase our staff'.

Now, I come to a typical example of high-handedness. You find that our progressive people are not given a chance on the radio. You find, the Congress having a far greater chance on the radio. About censorship, for instance, I know of some ridiculous things that happened. I was writing a script for a child character which I do myself on the radio, and the child says: 'I love colour pencils, I love green and yellow, I love black, I love red pencils but I love red best of all' and the censor actually had the audacity to strike that sentence out. Now, I ask you, Sir, if you are going to strike out all things that are red, then you might as well strike out uncounted society ladies who wander about in New Delhi; you might strike out the red carpet on which the President walks and—I take it, you could also—and that would be

a very good thing—strike out red-tapism.

Now, an interesting thing with regard to inefficiency and waste. A typical example is that of five high power kilowatt medium wave transmitters that were obtained three years ago. It would cost ten lakhs to instal them. But they have been lying in storage all this while, resulting in lakhs of rupees of values turning worthless. Only one was installed in Calcutta in 1950, remember, as a result of tension between east and west. So five lakhs of rupees have gone down the drain.

Now, the apparatus was installed at Barrackpore near the aerodrome it was dangerously close to the aerodrome—military aerodrome. The mast has to be put up at a height of 190 feet. It can only be put up at 120 feet, because if it is put up at 190 feet, it seems to disturb military broadcast operations. With the result that it is always half-mast as symbol of the death to the radio.

I have no time, unfortunately. I wish I could speak a lot more. But I would like to mention one or two things more. It is important and I would like to speak about it because I will not have the chance to speak on it again. It is about Hindi. I was very pleased to have the moral support of our Prime Minister who said that he could not understand this pompous high-flown Hindi. I hope he does not misunderstand it, either. Well, the Hindi that we are doing out—or rather lavishly pouring out to our people—that is classical Hindi. I know it for a fact that people, hundreds of us, who have heard and listened in great intensity and intense enthusiasm to these Hindi programmes before, now find it impossible. People who listen are choked by this Hindi; so they choke off the radio sets. Now, this sort of 'Parantu' Hindi is not at all conducive, I think, to the spreading of ideas in our country. We should simplify Hindi. It is for the people—it is not for the handful of us—that we have the radio. I do not see what earthly reason we have to go on forcing this kind of tyrannical classical Hindi on the people.

I am sorry I have not been able to finish. The time is finished and has finished me! All I can say is that I believe that the radio should be divorced from the Government. It should become a corporation run by men with creative genius, men of great intellectual integrity and standard. I feel that as a Corporation the AIR would serve the needs of the country far more

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than it does today. We shall have no kind of slant, no tendentious thing, in our broadcasts in that case. Well, broadcasting is a very broad responsibility to be shouldered by the narrow shoulders of the Minister of Broadcasting. I sincerely hope that he will fulfil his responsibilities so long as broadcasting is under the Government. And we are ready—I hope it does not sound insolent: it is experience speaking—we are ready to help him whenever he wishes us to give him any help whatever, born of the experience we have had for 20 years. Fortunately for him, all that I have said does not at all touch him, because he is new to his position. But he will have to face a lot, I assure you, and we are all here to help him. And if it goes on as it does, we are all here to fight him.

Shri S. K. Patil (Bombay City—South): I rise to offer a few constructive suggestions in regard to the information and Broadcasting Department and the motion picture industry that has been tagged on to that department. Unfortunately, this department, although so vital to our national growth—as in fact it is vital to the national growth of every country, but much more so to our infant democracy—has been treated almost as a Cinderella by the Administration. The very fact that such an important department has been given only two hours for discussion of Grants and the interest that the Government takes in it proves that they are not very serious about this department. I must not waste my time in that type of criticism lest I should, within the limited time that you, Sir, have been kind enough to give me, forget some of the important suggestions that I want to make to this Ministry.

The other day the hon. Education Minister gave a very eloquent explanation as to why these nation-building departments were not given their due. Howsoever eloquent that explanation may be, I regard it as the duty of the Administration to allocate funds especially to these nation-building departments no matter what your difficulties are. A lot of attention we give to the building of our physique. That is as it should be. But what about the building of our mind? If you ignore it, if you neglect it, you do so to the detriment of that democracy of which you are so proud. Therefore, I would urge the hon. Minister with all the earnestness at my command that he at any rate should not regard this department as a Cinderella, and should use all his influence in the Cabinet to see

that he gets adequate grants for stepping up the efficiency and the utility of this important and very vital department.

Coming to the Information Department, we have got a grant of less than a crore—Rs. 93 lakhs, which is a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the Budget. And within that, you have got to receive information, give information, and conduct a dozen other branches of this very important department. No wonder your information service has been very, very poor indeed. When I criticise it, it is not in any carping mood. I do so because I understand and realise the necessity that your information service must be efficient. India has got special problems which you must present to the world; the world has problems which you have got to interpret to your own citizens. You cannot do that by merely complaining that you have no funds and therefore you cannot appoint adequate staff for doing it. You must find funds for it. There is one aspect about the information service on which I wish to lay emphasis, and that is the integration of the services. You have bifurcated the information service: you have got an information service for indigenous purposes; and your foreign information service is a department by itself. I remember some years back this House appointed a Committee called the Economy Committee. One of the terms of reference of this Committee, apart from looking into the expenditure side of it, was to suggest means of making this department efficient. That Committee unanimously suggested that the foreign information service and the inland information service must come under one supervision and one control. That has not been done. Whatever be the reasons, what I am claiming is this: I recognise that the foreign service has some responsibilities of its own, but this suggested integration is not going to detract from the efficiency, because there would be a common cadre and it would be possible for our young men to go from one to the other, and selection would become easy, and the department would become ever so more efficient. I present that suggestion, that sooner than later you should integrate these services, and I am quite sure it would be conducive to greater efficiency in this department. In the Foreign Service you have Press Attachés. No doubt they are attached to the Embassies, but their condition today is that they are neither here nor there. They have no stability and they have no security. They have got a big name: they are

Press Attachés. You attach them to a country. After, say, three, four or five years, possibly they find themselves in the wilderness; they are nowhere. If there was proper integration of these services, all these difficulties could be got round.

I now come to the Broadcasting Department. Apart from the humorous side of the speech of my hon. friend Shri Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya, I do join with him in saying that this also has been treated as a Cinderella. You spend Rs. two crores on a department—less than half per cent. of the total national Budget—on a department which is so vital and so fundamental to the country. You may have, during the last three or four years, opened some new station here and there, and may have introduced a language here and there, but by and large, if you consider the achievements of this department, they have been very few. Not because there has been no talent in the administration, but because the money that is made available to the department is really so small as Rs. two crores. In India it is a strange phenomenon that broadcasting—take it as entertainment, take it as education, take it as propaganda—which is so very vital and which must be available to all of us for most part of the day, barring perhaps the sleeping hours from 12 midnight to six in the morning or so, we have got an eight-hour programme. When we most need it and switch on the radio, we find there is no programme. That is not as it should be. After all, you must supply some food, some relaxation, some entertainment to the mind. It may be a tired mind. When a worker, a clerk, comes home and wants to hear some nice music, or sometimes at odd hours if he does not get sleep, there is no programme worth the name. Your programmes, besides being very few, are dull and uninteresting. I am a sort of a fanatic in this matter of broadcasting; but when I switch on, and when I get your programme, I at once switch off: there is nothing worth hearing. What are your programmes? Compare them with any other country. I do not necessarily mean the United States and others who have ample means. They spend millions and millions, and they have got a private system of broadcasting. But take even other countries like Japan. For at least 18 hours they have programmes, and they are interesting programmes—at least half a dozen of them which you can enjoy, as against only one or two in this country. And in a composite province like mine where there are four languages, in

order to satisfy everybody, the programme has got to accommodate every language. Therefore, when I tune in—with all due respect to my Kanarese friends—I hear a Kanarese broadcast, of which I understand nothing. And *vice versa*: they must also be feeling the same way. Therefore, arrangements must be made in order that the frequency of programmes, the length of programmes and the variety of programmes should be greater so that you can have a more entertaining and efficient broadcasting system in this country.

One thing more and that is about the commercial broadcasts. There seems to be a very fantastic notion in this country that commercial broadcasting is something very heinous and very bad and which we must not touch even with a pair of tongs. I call it fantastic because the people who give that opinion do not know what commercial broadcasting exactly means. They think that commercial broadcasting means just an advertisement of different types of firms and companies and the different types of articles that they produce and things like that. It is a very wrong notion about commercial broadcasting. No doubt there are such programmes but they are quite different. They have nothing to do with the main substance of the commercial broadcasting. I shall give you for illustration one international example over which you can ponder and consider as to what ideal commercial programme should be without any detriment either to the efficiency of broadcasting or the national interest. There is a standard programme. You must have heard of it. It is one of the best international broadcasting programmes in the world. It is given out by the Standard Oil Company. But you will find that not even once the name of that company is used in that programme. What is that programme? It is a big feature recognised everywhere in the world. The commercial firms have also a duty towards serving the people and they must spend a part of their income in order to give recreation to the people. There is no commercial interest involved in that standard programme. Any time you tune into it, you will find best programmes, good lectures, good music and good information. It is nothing but standard programmes. There is not only one programme. But hundreds of programmes of commercial broadcasting are there. They serve the society or help the Government in serving the society. For God's sake do not reject out of hand even the consideration of

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a commercial broadcasting. Not this year but after 25 years if your efforts continue in this way, you will come to this House and say 'I want 20 crores of rupees for my broadcasting programmes in a national Budget of 400 crores.' Therefore, you will find that this commercial broadcasting system has got to be considered. You can have enough check on it because yours is a State managed broadcasting system. But in America and in Britain they are independent. Therefore, kindly do consider this commercial broadcasting to be very necessary and if you appoint a Committee of this Parliament to go into the whole question of broadcasting to find out how it can be brought on a par with the most advanced countries in broadcasting and also consider this question of commercial broadcasting, it will bring a satisfactory solution.

Because there is no time, I must refer to what is the most important subject namely the motion pictures. I happened to be the President of the Film Enquiry Committee. A report has been made more than a year ago now by that Committee. You have been considering that report. But when the consideration will be complete and when the legislation will be undertaken on all those useful recommendations in order to step up that industry nobody knows. The other day the hon. Minister replied that the Government had sent this report or portions of it to the State Governments. How do you expect the State Governments—when the recommendation is that there should be uniformity of taxation, that means the taxation will go down—to willingly accept that? There are all sorts of taxes, all sorts of special rates. And if that is the way of working, things will never improve. There are some very useful suggestions that are made in that report, for example, setting up a Film Council, setting up of a Production Code Administration and the Film Finance Corporation as also uniformity of taxation. All these things have got to be implemented. This is an industry where no less than 40 crores of private capital has been invested. This is an industry that gives nothing less than seven crores of rupees to the State Governments. This is an industry which if developed, besides supplying food to mind, will also bring crores and crores of rupees to the coffers of the Government, whether State Governments or the Central Government. Therefore, for God's sake do not sit supine and just wait in the hope that the State Governments will do their best. They are

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not going to do anything. You must use your influence and pressure, if it comes to that, to see that a Film Council is established and the Production Code Administration is established. If the Production Code Administration comes, there will not be that difficulty that my friend Shri Chattopadhyaya complained of, namely, censoring of films. You censor the films when they are complete and when lakhs of rupees have been spent on them. Then you become wise and say, "you delete this portion or that portion" or reject the film. I was a member of the Central Board of Film Censors, I know the difficulty caused by censoring. You cannot censor a film when it is completed or find fault with it when lakhs of rupees have been spent over the same. That will be a great blow to the industry. The only proper method of censoring is as soon as the script is ready, it is gone through and seen through at that stage. At the very first stage the film is censored so that when it comes to the last stage there is no difficulty about it and no loss is caused to the industry. That is the practice obtaining in the U.K. and in the U.S.A. and it has worked very satisfactorily there.

If I had time I would have given you many suggestions as to how this could be accomplished but the time at my disposal is very short and I must in conclusion beg of this House and the Administration not to treat these departments of Information, Broadcasting and the Motion Pictures as if they do not count, as if there is no controversy about them and therefore more time need not be given and more money need not be spent. These are the vital departments that make or unmake a nation. I agree with my friend Shri Chattopadhyaya that if conducted properly, this broadcasting and these motion pictures will be a most potent instrument of educating our countrymen. In that light these departments must be viewed and helped.

Shri N. P. Damodaran (Tellicherry): I shall confine my observations mainly to the Broadcasting Department and if time permits I shall speak a few words about the Information Department also. Broadcasting has come to stay in India, and let us examine the activities, the achievements and shortcomings of the Department. I would very much like to congratulate the Department for the campaign it conducted to educate the electorate on the importance and method of the recent elections. But I cannot congratulate the Department on its claims that during the period of

elections, the A.I.R. scrupulously maintained its policy of complete neutrality and objectivity. No doubt the hon. Minister of Information and Broadcasting had explained in Parliament on August 30, 1951 the decision of the Government that broadcasting facilities would not be available to any political party for the electioneering purposes. It would have been a true statement of fact if the hon. Minister instead of saying "any political party", had said "any political party other than the Congress". I shall substantiate my contention.

Many Hindus believe that one of their Gods, God Brahma has four faces and that he speaks through all the four faces according to his moods. Just on the eve of the elections our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru developed two faces and became a semi-Brahma. He also began to speak through both the faces. One face was that of the Prime Minister and the other of the Congress President. He spoke in quick succession through both the faces and sometimes at the same time through both, with the result that the AIR authorities got confused and did not know which speech came from which face. They were utterly helpless. They could not discriminate. In the confusion that prevailed, regardless of consequences, and sometimes even of sequences they broadcast all the speeches that came through both the faces and the Ministry sat satisfied that Broadcasting facilities were not made available to any political party other than the Congress for electioneering purposes. This phenomenon did not create any confusion in the minds of the Government or of the Congress. But in the minds of the electorate, it was confusion worse confounded. They confused Government with the Congress. The result is that quite a large number of my friends sitting on the other side have found their places here.

I would now repudiate the tall claim of the A.I.R. that they have observed strict neutrality with regard to the last elections. The speeches of Congress Ministers in their dual capacities as Ministers and as Congressmen, cataloguing the achievements of the Congress Ministries have been given wide publicity.....

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल On a point of order, Sir, कोई भी मन्त्र इस हाउस में अपनी स्पीच लिख कर नहीं पढ़ सकता यह आपका हुक्म है। आप देख रहे हैं कि वह खुद अपनी लिखी हुई स्पीच

हाय में लेकर पढ़ रहे हैं, यह बाजिबी चीज नहीं है।

[Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): On a point of order, Sir. It is your ruling that no hon. Member can read his speech in the House. As you may note the hon. Member is reading his written speech which he has in his hand. This is not proper.]

Mr. Speaker: I was just watching him for some time to see whether he was referring to his copious notes or he was reading his speech.

Shri N. P. Damodaran: I am just referring to my notes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: He makes a declaration which I must accept.

Shri N. P. Damodaran: I was saying that the speeches of Congress Ministers in their dual capacities as Ministers and as Congressmen have been given wide publicity through the radio which was an indirect propaganda in favour of the Congress candidates.

Now, I come to the salient features of the working of the A.I.R. With the advent of independence there has been a sudden switching on to Hindi. I am not opposed to Hindi. Hindi is our national language and we have adopted it as such. But there should be no mad hurry about the imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people. I would request the authorities of the A.I.R. and the Broadcasting Ministry to go slow with their enthusiasm for Hindi. I would request for the inclusion of more Urdu programmes in the North Indian station broadcasts as I understand that most of the Urdu-knowing and Urdu-speaking people in the Punjab and in the other parts of India are switching on to the Pakistan Radio as they are unable to get Urdu programmes from the radio stations in India. I feel that the language policy of the All India Radio, particularly in the North, is not what it should have been.

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair)

Advisory Committees have been appointed for each of the stations of the A.I.R. How are these Committees appointed and what are their functions? These Committees are never taken seriously either by the Government or even by the station directors and their staff. They are there only to put the seal of approval for all the actions of the station staff. The members of the Committees are nominees of the Government and they are only the

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yes-men of the Government. I would suggest that the members of the Advisory Committees should be elected from among the representatives of the area concerned in the Parliament, in the State Legislatures and in the district boards and municipalities. The views of the Committees should be obtained with regard to the programmes, languages, etc. and the improvements suggested by the Advisory Committees should be carried out. I would even suggest that the Advisory Committee should be consulted whenever new appointments are made to the All India Radio. In addition to the various Advisory Committees now functioning I would also suggest the appointment of a Central Advisory Committee for all the radio stations in India. That Central Advisory Committee should represent the various parties in this House and should be elected from among the Members of Parliament. It can advise Government on the policy, programmes and language.

At present, how are the appointments made? Under some pretext or other some posts are created and temporary appointments are made; afterwards interested persons and god fathers by some method or other manage to make the posts permanent and put their own henchmen into those posts. How many promotions were given after the advent of freedom and how were they given? Perhaps it is in this Department that you will find persons who were drawing a salary of Rs. 450 a month two years ago now drawing a salary of Rs. 1,500 a month. Is it not scandalous? I know instances of men and women who are unfit for any good work in the A.I.R., being appointed to high posts just to please some high dignitary in the Department or outside.

Is there any effective check on the money placed at the disposal of the station directors for the remuneration of the artistes, speakers etc.? To my knowledge there is no effective check and the station director and his favourites in the staff are at perfect liberty to patronise anyone whom they like. The result is a fortunate few who happen to please the station director and his staff and who dance to their tunes get frequent chances and fat remunerations whereas really deserving and talented persons very often go unheeded and ill paid. The whole atmosphere in a radio station is surcharged with romance and many a romance is made and unmade in and around radio stations. I wish the Advisory Committees had enough power to check all the vagaries of the

station directors and their staff and to put an effective check on the squandering of public money on undeserving and undesirable persons. I would also request the Government to reconstitute the Committees on the lines I have suggested. I know persons who were Members of Parliament are continuing on these Committees even though they are not Members of Parliament now.

Some publicity has been given to the suspension of the Director-General of Broadcasting. I would not like to discuss the matter in detail since the case is *sub judice*, but I cannot refrain from saying that it does not speak very highly of the ministerial control if all the charges against him proved correct. For according to newspaper reports he was allowed to commit all those alleged irregularities for the last four years without any check. Why was the Ministry sleeping over it all the time?

Now, a few words about our own radio station in my own home district of Malabar. I refer to the Calicut radio station. It was the long-cherished desire of all Malayalees the world over that brought into existence the Calicut radio station. But our station had independent existence hardly for six months. The Trivandrum station has now conquered Calicut and has made her its handmaid. She is now made to play second fiddle to her Trivandrum mistress. Calicut has been reduced to the position of a relaying station and its main function now is to relay the music, drama, speeches etc. from Trivandrum by means of telephone. I am told that whatever amount is made to appear as a saving due to the new arrangement is being spent by way of transmitting the programmes from Trivandrum to Calicut through the telephone. The throat of the Calicut radio station has been strangulated. This misfortune befell Malabar only because one Trivandrum gentleman was put in charge of both the Trivandrum and Calicut stations. He did not like Calicut and did not like to leave Trivandrum. He made some peculiar calculations and made it appear that some money will be saved if Calicut were made a relaying station. There was a hue and cry in Malabar, newspapers, artistes, local bodies, and cultural associations raised their common voice of protest against this move. It was then that the former Minister of Broadcasting said in Madras that Malabar did not have enough of artistic talents, and that that was the reason for converting Calicut into a relaying station. This was adding insult to injury. There

was again an uproar in Malabar: this time the Cochin people also joined us. The Minister denied having said that Malabar lacked any artistic talent. That storm got subsided, but still justice has not been done to Calicut. I would request the new Minister of Information and Broadcasting to look into the matter afresh, to study the question afresh, and to do justice to Malabar by restoring the Calicut radio station to its original and independent status.

I would also request him to bestow thought on the points I have brought to his notice during the course of my speech, to rectify some of the defects pointed out, and to check the squandering of money in the name of broadcasting. If these things are not attended to, the Broadcasting Department will only be a 'fraud-casting' department.

Shri S. A. Khan (Ibrahimpatnam) : The role of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in educating the 360 million people of India, speaking different languages, professing different religious faiths and belonging to different cultural groups, is very great indeed. It is not only the function of this Ministry to do most of the propaganda work of the Government. That is merely one aspect of its duties. I feel that one of the main responsibilities of this Ministry, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, is the creation of a secular democratic outlook amongst our people. It is true that during the past years our leaders—especially our Prime Minister—have been preaching to the masses of this country the ideals of a secular democratic republic, and also the ideal of social and economic justice for the people of this country. All that is very well, but in the din and noise of political parties and their struggle for power the voices of these leaders are drowned and there is much confusion in the minds of the people.

Democracy is an organic growth. The concept of democracy and social justice cannot be thrust on the people from above. The seeds have to be sown in the minds of the masses and I feel that in this great task Government alone can take the lead. This matter is above party politics and I am sure that the hon. Members representing various parties in the House will agree with me that if we are to emerge as a secular democratic republic, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should play its role effectively. I am also sure that no political party in this House will take exception to such a campaign being

launched on a nation-wide scale today. People must be taught first the A, B, C of democracy before they can understand the various ideologies put before them by the various interested parties.

I do not wish to take much time of the House in going into the details of the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, but I should like to say a few words about the *modus operandi* of this campaign. Press publicity, I feel, is not enough. This is because the percentage of reading public in our country is very low indeed. What we should do is to adopt audio-visual methods to convey the great message of democracy in a manner which is entertaining and subtle and this message should be conveyed to the masses through their eyes and ears, because they are unable to read or write. For this purpose, I feel, that films should be shown on 16 mm. projectors, carried from village to village in mobile units and speeches and dialogues, music and village dramas can be utilised to achieve our aim. Here I might say that we can make use of the services of all the talented artists who are no doubt starving or near starvation in this country and to help them it will be a good thing to utilise their services. We might as well make use of the talent of my hon. friend Shri Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

If it is true that in India there are seven lakhs of villages, then I feel we need at least 7,000 mobile units and 70,000 community receivers for the larger villages. This scheme, as I have worked it out, involves a non-recurring grant of Rs. 20 crores and a recurring grant of about Rs. four crores a year. I do not believe that this is a very large sum, when we take into consideration the great purpose behind it.

On the subject of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, much has been said in this House, but the fact is that this Ministry has been doing its best and one of its great achievements was during the election campaign. It has succeeded in educating to a certain extent the voter in the functions of democracy. With regard to the Information Department and the publicity organisation all over India, I feel that the various States and their information organisations should become a Central subject. The States should contribute, I feel, half a per cent. of their annual revenue to the Central exchequer so that that contribution is used for the purpose of publicity by the Centre and the rest should be met by the Government of India. These branches of the Central

[Shri S. A. Khan]

publicity organisation in each State will work under the direction of the Central Government and thus publicity will be centralised. This means that they will also work in close co-operation with the various State Governments to which they belong. This is a broad outline. The Government of India should, I suggest, convene a conference of all the State Information Ministers to discuss this matter.

श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे : उप सभापति महोदय, आज यहां नभोवाणी और समाचार विभाग पर वादविवाद हो रहा है। मेरे मित्र श्री चट्टोपाध्याय ने पी० टी० आई० के बारे में, जिसके बारे में मैं ने कटौती की सूचना दी थी, काफी कहा है, इसलिये उसके बारे में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। मैं इस सभागृह की दृष्टि में एक ही बात लाना चाहता हूं कि प्रेस (press) और इनफारमेशन (information) और रेडियो, वृत्त पत्र और नभोवाणी, यह दो सरकार के हाथ में बड़े प्रभावशाली शस्त्र हैं। जैसा कि श्री पाटिल साहब ने और श्री चट्टोपाध्याय साहब ने बताया, देश के कल्याण के लिये यह दोनों विभाग अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हैं और देश का कल्याण करने वाले हैं। आप के प्रति वृत्त में यह कहा गया है कि दुनिया के पांच बड़े नभोवाणी के देशों में हिन्दुस्तान की गणना है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह महान् अस्त्र है, और आज विरोधी दल को यह भय है कि इस शस्त्र का उपयोग, एक दल को बढ़ाने के लिये हो रहा है और प्रतिपक्षियों को दबाने के लिये। इस काम के लिये इस नभोवाणी का ही नहीं और भी जो शक्ति सरकार के हाथ में है उसका उपयोग किया जा रहा है। Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. मैं यह देख रहा हूं कि जो बहुसंख्या कांग्रेस सरकार के हाथ में आज है उस बहुसंख्या

का उपयोग करके वह अपने प्रति पक्षियों को दबाने की रेडियो द्वारा और दूसरी तरह भी कोशिश कर रही है। पी० टी० आई० (P.T.I) से पहले जो ए० पी० आई० (A.P.I) वृत्त संस्था थी उसने जितना कांग्रेस का प्रचार किया उससे ज्यादा सरकार का प्रचार इस संस्था द्वारा किया जा रहा है। आज इस सभा को यह बात ध्यान में लेनी चाहिये। आज मैं देखता हूं कि किस तरह इस नभोवाणी के द्वारा सरकार अपने प्रतिपक्षियों को दबाने की चेष्टा कर रही है। यह देख कर तो मैं यह चाहता हूं कि इस संस्था का इतना विकास न हुआ होता तो अच्छा होता। निर्वाचन के दिनों में मुझे याद है कि रेडियो का किस प्रकार से दुरुपयोग किया गया। मेरे सलेम के एक मित्र ने बताया कि उन्होंने आंखों से देखा और कानों से सुना कि श्री गोपालन, श्री नम्बियार आदि जनता को पं० नेहरू के विरोध में भड़का रहे थे। मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मैं ने भी अपने कानों से सुना कि रेडियो पर दिन प्रति दिन पंडित नेहरू के भाषणों का प्रतिवृत्त आता था कि हिन्दू महासभा महात्मा गांधी की हत्या के लिये उत्तरदायी है और हिन्दुस्तान भर में आल इंडिया रेडियो इस वृत्त को दुहराता था। इसी के कारण हिन्दू राष्ट्रपति डाक्टर खरे साहब ने नागपुर की हाईकोर्ट में एक केस भी पेश किया था। आप देखेंगे कि इस रेडियो पर कांग्रेस के प्रचार के समाचार प्रसारित किये जाते हैं। निर्वाचन में ही नहीं, आज भी आप देखेंगे कि इस नभोवाणी के द्वारा कांग्रेस का प्रचार बहुत पद्धतिशील रीति से होता है। कांग्रेस के लिये प्रचार इस पर चल रहा है। मेरे एक मित्र ने कहा कि रेडियो द्वारा सिक्यूलरिज्म (secularism) का प्रचार किया जाना चाहिये।

मैं नहीं जानता कि इस विषयमें राष्ट्रवाद की सरकार की क्या कल्पना है। किन्तु भिन्न भिन्न नभोवाणी के जो केन्द्र हैं वह इसका भिन्न भिन्न अर्थ करते हैं। यह हमने देखा है। मैं एक उदाहरण आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। बम्बई के एक माननीय प्रोफ़ेसर ऐन० आर० फाटक हैं जो महाराष्ट्र में एक बड़े साहित्यिक और इतिहास के संशोधक माने जाते हैं। इन को बम्बई के नभोवाणी केन्द्र में इतिहास पर बोलना था। विषय था संभाजी। उनके भाषण में एक वाक्य था "औरंगजेब ने तीन दिवस पर्यन्त हाल हाल करून संभा जीचा वध केला" जिस का हिन्दी में अर्थ है "तीन दिन पर्यन्त अत्याचार करने के पश्चात् औरंगजेब ने संभा जी का वध किया" रेडियो वालों ने कहा कि इस में से यह तीन शब्द, टॉर्चर फ़ार थ्री डेज़ (Torture for three days) निकाल दिये जायें। फ़ाटक साहब ने यह स्वीकार नहीं किया और उन्होंने व्याख्यान नहीं दिया। उस नभोवाणी केन्द्र वालों का विचार था कि यह शब्द एक मुसलमान के विरुद्ध थे इसलिये निकाल देना चाहिये। इस का अर्थ यह है कि हमें इतिहास में औरंगजेब के विरुद्ध भी नहीं बोलना चाहिये। प्रो० फाटक साहब ने इस के पश्चात् नभोवाणी केन्द्र पर इतिहास के विषय पर बोलने से इन्कार किया यह मैं मराठी वृत्तपत्रों के भरोसे पर नहीं कह रहा हूँ। यह बात प्रो० फाटक जी ने २४ मार्च को पूना के वसन्त व्याख्यान माला में बताया है। यह आप के विषयमें राष्ट्रवाद की व्याख्या है। दूसरे एक केलकर साहब बड़े साहित्यिक हैं। उन के व्याख्यान बम्बई नभोवाणी पर होते रहते हैं। एक हफ्ते में केलकर साहब ने कहा कि मैं सावरकर दर्शन नामक पुस्तक का समीक्षण (रिव्यू) करूँगा। इस पर विषयमें राष्ट्रवाद वालों

ने कहा कि वीर सावरकर महाराष्ट्र में सर्वोत्तम साहित्यिक होते हुए भी हमारे दिल के नहीं हैं, हमारे नेहरू जी के खिलाफ़ हैं इस कारण सावरकर दर्शन पर आलोचना नहीं हो सकती। यह बात केलकर साहब ने एक वक्तव्य में कही। इस प्रकार की विषयमें राष्ट्रवाद की व्याख्या आपके नभोवाणी केन्द्रों से की जाती है।

आज कुछ सदस्यों ने हिन्दी भाषा के बारे में शिक्रमयत की पर उन में से उत्तर भारत का कोई नहीं था। एक सदस्य बंगाल के थे और एक मलाबार के थे। उन का कहना है कि आल इंडिया रेडियो की भाषा बड़ी संस्कृतनिष्ठ होती है। मैं तो यह देख रहा हूँ कि आज समाचार और इनफ़ारमेशन विभाग और नभोवाणी विभाग में हिन्दी के प्रति अन्याय हो रहा है। यह मेरा उन पर आक्षेप है। मैं देखता हूँ कि आज भी अंजुमन तरक्की उर्दू को ३६ हजार रुपया दिया जाता है और पहले चालीस हजार रुपया दिया जाता था। हम ने रेडियो और इनफ़ारमेशन के विभाग में भी देखा है कि फ़ाइव इयर्स प्लान (Five years plan) को अंग्रेजी में छापा गया, हिन्दी में छापा गया और उर्दू में छापा गया। मैं यहां के सब लोगों की तरफ़ से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह तामिल में क्यों नहीं छापा गया, तेलगू में क्यों नहीं छापा गया, मराठी में क्यों नहीं छापा गया, केवल उर्दू में ही क्यों छापा गया। आप के यहां से आठ मेगज़ीन निकलती हैं अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी, उर्दू और अरबी में। मुझे तो पता नहीं लगता कि यह हिन्दुस्तान है या अरबस्तान है या ईरान है। यहां जो हमारे मद्रास के पोकर साहब हैं वह कहते हैं कि मौलाना साहब की भाषा उन की समझ में नहीं आती पर देशपांडे की भाषा थोड़ी बहुत उन की समझ में आती है क्योंकि वह संस्कृतनिष्ठ है। हिन्दुस्तान

[श्री बी० जी० देशपाण्डे]

के हर भाग में संस्कृतनिष्ठ हिन्दी समझी जा सकती है अरबीनिष्ठ हिन्दी नहीं समझी जा सकती। और मैं देख रहा हूँ कि आप के रेडियो और इनफारमेशन विभाग में हिन्दी के साथ कितना अन्याय हो रहा है। मुझे अधिकृत रूप से बतलाया गया है कि स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के पूर्व हिन्दी पर जितना खर्च होता था उतना खर्च अब स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के पश्चात् और देवनागरी लिपि में लिखी जाने वाली हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा स्वीकार हो जाने के पश्चात् नहीं हो रहा है। स्वतन्त्रता मिलने के पूर्व इस विभाग में आप के यहां आठ हिन्दी जर्नलिस्ट काम करते थे। आज तीन ही रह गये हैं। आज अंग्रेजी और उर्दू की तुलना में हिन्दी पर बारहवां हिस्सा भी खर्च नहीं किया जा रहा है। इस प्रकार की हालत हिन्दी की नये जमाने में हो गई है। यह मैं ने देखा है।

इस के पश्चात् मैं आप को दो एक बातें पी० टी० आई० (P.T.I.) के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि यहां किस प्रकार से इस डिमा फ्रेंसी में रिश्तत द्वारा, पैसे के लोभ से एक वृत्तपत्र संस्था को मिला कर डिमाफ्रेंसी का, लोक राज्ज भागला घोटने का यत्न हो रहा है और किस प्रकार सरकार के द्वारा लाखों रूपये एक वृत्तपत्रसंस्था को दिये जाते हैं। मैं केवल यहां उदाहरण नहीं देना चाहता कि किस प्रकार P.T.I. को तरफ से हाथी सिंह साहब को चीन में भेज कर इतना रुपया खर्च किया गया, बल्कि जो सरकारी विज्ञापन दिये जाते हैं यह भी एक तरह से वृत्तपत्रों को रिश्तत दी जाती है। इस सभागृह में विरोधी दल के एक सदस्य ने सरकार से पूछा था कि कौन कौन से वृत्तपत्रों को कितने कितने विज्ञापन दिये जाते हैं उन को कितना पैसा दिया जाना है,

उन का प्रचार कितना कितना है, उन का सरकुलेशन (circulation) कितना है और सरकार की तरफ से उन को उत्तर दिया गया कि हम यह बता नहीं सकते। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस में कौन सी गुप्तता की बात है। क्या एटम बम बन रहा है? यह ऐसी कौन सी गुप्त बात है कि जिस के बताने से देश की सुरक्षा खतरे में पड़ जायेगी? यह जो लाखों रुपया विज्ञापन के रूप में दिया जाता है यह देश का रुपया है और मैं मिनिस्टर साहब को चुनौती देता हूँ कि वह हाउस की टेबिल पर यह आंकड़े रखें कि इनफारमेशन विभाग कितना कितना रुपया किस किस पत्र को विज्ञापन द्वारा मदद करने के लिये देता है और जब तक यह आंकड़े नहीं दिये जाते तब तक मैं यह समझूंगा कि आप केवल कांग्रेस का और सहकार का साथ देने के लिये उन का रिश्तत देते हैं और जो आप के विरोधी हैं उनको मदद न देने के लिये आप इन पत्रों का उपयोग करते हैं। तब हम आप पर यहां आक्षेप करते रहेंगे।

इतने महत्वपूर्ण विभाग के लिये कूल डेढ़ घंटा गवर्नमेंट देती हैं यह क्यों किया जाता है मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। शायद यह इस लिये है कि हम आप पर आक्षेप न कर सकें। आज इस देश में खाली रेडियो में ही नहीं परन्तु इस डिपार्टमेंट में सब जगह कुख्याति किया जा रहा है और इस दुरूप्योग की बचान के लिये समा में विरोधी दल की ओर से आवाज उठाने को मैं खड़ा हुआ था और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री इसका उचित उत्तर देंगे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri V. G. Deshpande: Sir, I have stood up to speak on the demands for grants to the Information and Broad-

casting Ministry which are being discussed in the House today. My hon. friend Shri Chattopadhyaya has spoken a lot about the P.T.I., about which I have given notice of a cut motion, so I would not like to say anything more on the subject. I want to bring this fact to the notice of the House that Press and Radio are two very effective weapons in the hands of the Government. As Shri Patil and Shri Chattopadhyaya have pointed out, Information and Broadcasting is a very important Ministry and can be instrumental for the good of the country. It is stated in the Government Report that from the point of view of broadcasting India is one of the five countries in which it has greatly developed. It is a very potential weapon in the armoury of the Government and the opposition is sure that this weapon is being used to bolster up a particular party and suppress the opposing groups. The Government are using not only Radio but other means at their disposal also towards this end. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. I find that the Congress Government is using its force of majority and also Radio and other means to suppress those who are opposed to it. The P.T.I. is carrying on more propaganda in favour of the Government than its predecessor, the A.P.I., did for the Congress. The House should take notice of the ways the Government are adopting to suppress the opposition by the use of Radio. This tendency on the part of the Government makes me wish that broadcasting should not have developed to the extent to which it has been developed. I remember how the Radio was misused during General Elections. A friend of mine at Salem has told that he had seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears how Shri Gopalan and Shri Nambiar etc., excited the people against Pandit Nehru. I want to tell you that I have myself heard speeches of Shri Nehru broadcast by All India Radio in which he has alleged that the Hindu Mahasabha was responsible for Gandhiji's murder. These speeches were relayed by all the stations of the All India Radio. The *Hindu Rashtrapati* Dr. Khare had filed a case in the Nagpur High Court in this connection. You would find Congress propaganda news being broadcast by the All India Radio. This happened during the general elections and this is happening even today in an organised manner. The A.I.R. is a means of propaganda for the Congress. An hon. friend has said that the Radio should be used for the propagation of secularism. I do not know what the concept of this non-religious Government is about secular-

ism. But I have found that different stations of the All India Radio interpret this term in different ways. I would illustrate my point by an example. Prof. N. R. Pathak of Bombay, who is a great literature of Maharashtra and has conducted research in History, had to give a talk from the Bombay Station of All India Radio on Sambhaji. His talk contained a sentence "*Aurangzebane teen divasa paryant Hal Hal karoon Sambhaji chavadha kela*" i.e., Aurangzeb put Sambhaji to death after torturing him for three days. The authorities of the Bombay Station of All India Radio insisted that the words, "torture for three days" be struck out. Prof. Pathak did not agree to it and did not broadcast the talk. The authorities thought that as the words were against a Muslim, they should be struck out. That means that we should not say anything against Aurangzeb even now when it has become history. After this Prof. Pathak refused to speak from the All India Radio on subjects relating to History. I am not saying this on the basis of Marathi newspaper reports; Prof. Pathak himself mentioned it on March 24 last in the Vasant Lecture Series at Poona. This is your secular nationalism. Shri Kelkar is another great literature, who often broadcasts talks from the Bombay Station of the All India Radio. Once he expressed a desire to review a book entitled 'Savarkar Darshan'. The protagonists of secular nationalism replied that in spite of the fact that Vir Savarkar was a good writer in Maharashtra, he did not belong to their group and was against Shri Nehru, so 'Savarkar Darshan' could not be allowed to be reviewed. This was contained in a statement by Shri Kelkar. This is how the stations of the A.I.R. interpret secular nationalism.

Some hon. friends today complained about the Hindi that is used by All India Radio; but none of them belonged to North India. One of them is from Bengal and the other from Malabar. They complained that the language of the All India Radio was Sanskritised. But I find that injustice is being done to Hindi in the Information and Broadcasting. I accuse them of this. I find that the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu is still getting a grant of Rs. 36,000 annually whereas formerly Rs. 40,000 per annum were given to it by the Government. The Information and Broadcasting Ministry printed the Five Year Plan in English, Hindi and Urdu. I ask on everybody's behalf: why was it not printed in Tamil, Telugu and Marathi also and why only in Urdu. Eight magazines are published by the Government in

[Shri V. G. Deshpande]

English, Hindi, Urdu and Arabic. I wonder, is it India, or is it Arabia or Iran? Shri Pocker Saheb from Madras says that he cannot understand the language used by Maulana Saheb but does follow something of what Deshpande says. That is because my language is Sanskrit-based. In every part of India Sanskrit-based Hindi is understood but not the Hindi based on Arabic. I have seen that injustice is being done to Hindi in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I have been authoritatively informed that the expenditure incurred on Hindi before Independence was greater than the sum now spent after Independence on Hindi, written in Devnagri Script. Before Independence there were eight Hindi journalists working there, whereas now their number has dwindled to three. The amount spent on Hindi is not even one-twelfth of that spent on English and Urdu. That is the state of affairs as far as Hindi is concerned.

Now I would like to say a few things about P.T.I. I want to point out how under this Democracy efforts are being made to strangle Democracy itself by bribing a news agency and how the Government are paying out lakhs of rupees to a news agency. I do not want to confine myself to the fact as to how huge sums of money were spent by P.T.I. in sending Shri Hathee Singh to China. I also want to mention how advertisements are used as bribes by the Government. An hon. Member from the opposition benches had tabled a question in this House asking names of the papers which were given advertisements, the number of advertisements and the amounts paid in lieu thereof, and their respective circulations. The Government replied that they could not supply the desired information. I want to know what is confidential or secret about it. Is any Atom Bomb going to be produced on the basis of that information? What is that secret, the letting out of which would endanger the security of the country? The lakhs paid as charges for advertisements are public money. I challenge the hon. Minister for Information to place on the Table of the House figures of sums paid to newspapers in the shape of charges for advertisements. If these figures are not supplied I would take it to mean that the Government are bribing the Congress and the Government, and to use them against the opponents. We would continue to charge the Government with this till these figures are supplied.

I wonder why one and a half hours

only were allotted for discussion regarding demands for grants for such an important Ministry. Perhaps the Government do not want to give us an opportunity to criticise them. Not only Radio, the whole of the machinery of this Ministry is being misused. I have stood up to raise my voice against it on behalf of the opposition, and I hope the hon. Minister would give an adequate reply.

श्री पी० एल० कुरील : श्रीमान्, स्पीकर जी, मेरी तो ख्वाहिश थी कि मैं अंग्रेजी में तक्ररीर करूँ लेकिन पिछली दफा जब मैं ने अंग्रेजी में तक्ररीर की थी तो कुछ दोस्तों और मित्रों ने मुझ से कहा कि आप यू० पी० के रहने वाले हैं, आप को हिन्दी में तक्ररीर करनी चाहिये। चूँकि हिन्दी जवान एक क्रीमी जवान है इसलिये मैं अपने मित्रों और दोस्तों को मायूस नहीं करना चाहता। चूँकि मेरी रैदाइश सूबे पंजाब में हुई है इसलिये हिन्दी से बहुत ज्यादा वाकफियत नहीं है। जब मैं मरकजी असेम्बली का मेम्बर था मैं अंग्रेजी में ही बोलता था और इस वक्त भी मेरी अंग्रेजी में बोलने की ख्वाहिश थी लेकिन मैं आज हिन्दी में ही बोलूँगा।

Shri Nand Lal Sharma: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, on a point of order, I wish to say that it is anything but Hindi.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: At least it is not English.

श्री पी० एल० कुरील : There is practically no difference between Hindi and Urdu. मुझे सिर्फ १५ मिनट का टाइम मिला है और मुझे फ़िल्म सनअत पर बोलना है। इस से पहले कि फ़िल्म सनअत पर अपने खयालात का इजहार करूँ, मैं मुर्शिदाबाद समझता हूँ कि अपने इन्डियन यूनियन (Indian Union) के प्रेसिडेंट (President) को एक आर्टिस्ट श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर को कीमिल आफ स्टेट (Council of States) का मेम्बर नॉमिनेट (nominate) करने के लिये चुकिया अर्दा करूँ। अभी तक हम रा

गवर्नमेंट फ़िल्म सनअत की तरफ़ कोई तवज्जह नहीं देती रही है और मुझे खुशी है कि अब हमारी सरकार फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री की तरफ़ तवज्जह देने लगी है। हाल ही में एक आर्टिस्ट (artist), कलाकार, को कौंसिल आफ़ स्टेट का मेम्बर बनाया गया है और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि कांग्रेस और गवर्नमेंट ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा आर्टिस्ट्स और उन के नुमाइंदों को लेने की कोशिश करेगी और न सिर्फ़ आर्टिस्ट्स के नुमाइंदों को बल्कि टेकनीशियंस (technicians) डाइरेक्टर्स (Directors) और प्रोड्यूसर्स (Producers) के जो नुमाइंदे हैं उन को भी लेगी। जब हम स्क्रीन (screen) पर मधुबाला, सुरैया और नरगिस को देखते हैं तो चकित हो जाते हैं लेकिन यह नहीं समझते कि उनकी कामयाबी टेकनीशियंस (Technicians), डाइरेक्टर्स (Directors) और प्रोड्यूसर्स (Producers) पर है। मुझे यह देख कर मायूसी होती है कि हमारी जनता और जनता के नुमाइंदे यह कभी ध्यान नहीं देते कि टेकनीशियंस और प्रोड्यूसर्स पर ही फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री का दारो-मदार है। हमारी फ़िल्म सनअत का मौजूदा कैपिटल (Capital) तक्ररीबन ४० करोड़ से ज़्यादा है और इस से काफ़ी आमदनी सरकार को होती है, लाखों रुपये की आमदनी सरकार को हर साल होती है। लेकिन अफ़सोस की बात तो यह है कि हमारी सरकार ने अभी इस को एक इंडस्ट्री के तौर पर मंजूर ही नहीं किया है। सरकार तो यह कहती है कि यह इंडस्ट्री ही नहीं है। जिस में ४० करोड़ रुपये का सरमाया लगा हो और जिस के ज़रिये से लाखों रुपये की आमदनी सरकार को होती है उस के लिये यह कहा जाय कि यह सनअत ही नहीं है यह एक ऐसी बात है जिस को कोई सही दिमाग़ का आदमी

26 P.S.D.

मानने को तैयार नहीं होगा।

इस इंडस्ट्री के ज़रिये से हम तामीरी काम सरअंजाम दे सकते हैं, लोगों के दिलों के अन्दर क्रीमियत और हुबुलवतनी का जज़बा पैदा कर सकते हैं और इसी तरह से दीगर तामीरी कामों को भी सरअंजाम दे सकते हैं। यह एक इतना बड़ा ज़रिया है जिस से हम अपने नौजवानों में और जनता के दूसरे आदमियों में एक बड़ी भारी तब्दीली पैदा कर सकते हैं, उन के अन्दर एक इस्लाही जज़बा पैदा कर सकते हैं। आप जानते हैं कि हमारी रोज़ाना जिन्दगी में फ़िल्म का कितना बड़ा दखल है। लेकिन अफ़सोस की बात यह है कि फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री की तरफ़ अभी तवज्जह नहीं की गई है। हमारी गवर्नमेंट का चाहिये कि वह इस की तरफ़ ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा तवज्जह दे। इस वक्त की मौजूदा फ़िल्में जो कि रोज़ाना पर्चे पर आ रही हैं उन में चन्द ही ऐसी हैं जिन्हें कि हम इस्लाही, सोशल (social), एजुकेटिव (educative) कह सकें हैं। ज़्यादातर ऐसी तस्वारें हैं जिन का नौजवानों पर बुरा असर पड़ता है, उन का अख़लाक़ बिगड़ता है और कभी कभी ऐसा देखा गया है कि इतने बुरे बुरे गाने होते हैं कि उन का हमारे नौजवानों पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। हमारा सेंसर बाड (Censor Board) उन में से कुछ गानों को फ़िल्मों से निकाल देता है लेकिन उन्हें निकाल देने के बाद सेंसर बाड इस का काशिश नहीं करता कि वे गाने आम जगहों पर, पब्लिक प्लेस (public places) पर न चलाये जायें। रोज़ाना जब हम रेस्ट्रॉओं से गुज़रते हैं तो वे गाने हम को रिकार्ड पर सुनने का मिलते हैं और हम उन का सुनते हैं। गवर्नमेंट ने काई कदम नहीं उठाया है कि जो गाने ममनू करार दे दिये गये हैं

[श्री पी० एल० कुरील]

उन को पब्लिक प्लेसेज पर गाने से रोका जाय ।

फ़िल्म सनअत एक चन्द सेमी एजुकेटेड (semi-educated) लोगों के हाथ में हैं जो कि ज्यादा तालीमयाफ़ता नहीं हैं । जिन का मतलब महज़ यह है कि जनता की जेबों को काटें और ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया वसूल करें, आर्ट (art) से तो उन का दूर का लगाव भी नहीं है । इंडस्ट्री में तो ऐसे आदमियों की ज़रूरत है कि जिन के दिल में सनअत को तरक्की देने का लगाव हो और जो चाहते हों कि हमारी सनअत तरक्की करे और हमारी सनअत मुल्क के तामीरी काम में मदद करे । लेकिन यह कैसे हो सकता है जब कि किसी इंडिपेंडेंट प्रोड्यूसर या ऐसे शख्स की, जिस के अन्दर इंडस्ट्री की खिदमत करने का जज़्बा मौजूद है और जो हकीकत में आर्ट की खिदमत करने के लिये पिक्चर बनाना चाहता है, फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री में गुंजाइश नहीं । क्यों गुंजाइश नहीं है ? इसलिये कि स्क्रिनों के लिये काम करने वाले मामूली एक्टर और एक्ट्रेस, जैसे कि सुरैया, नगिस और मधुबाला वगैरह हैं, महज़ एक पिक्चर में काम करने के लिये लाख, और डेढ़ डेढ़ लाख रुपया तलब करते हैं और अफ़सोस का मुकाम तो यह है कि गवर्नमेंट देखती है कि कान्ट्रैक्ट (contract) के अन्दर वे २० या ३० हजार ही दिखाते हैं और हकीकत में एक या डेढ़ लाख रुपया तलब करते हैं और इस तरह से गवर्नमेंट को लाखों रुपये का नुक़सान होता है । लेकिन गवर्नमेंट बिल्कुल मज़बूर है कुछ कर नहीं सकती । जब एक इंडिपेंडेंट प्रोड्यूसर चाहता है कि वह सोशल और एजुकेटिव टाइप की पिक्चर बनावे तो उसे यह देख कर दुःख होता है कि उसे इन चन्द

आर्टिस्ट्स (artists) का कोआपरेशन (Co-operation); नहीं मिलेगा जो कि फ़िल्म सनअत पर छाये हुए हैं । इस तरह वह अपने काम में अड़चन पाता है और वह मायूस हो जाता है । नये कलाकारों और नये आर्टिस्टों की हीसला अफ़जाई करनी चाहिये इस से जहाँ रुपये की बचत होगी वहाँ पर आर्ट और फ़न की तरक्की होगी ।

श्री एस० के० पाटिल साहब ने फ़िल्म इन्क्वायरी कमेटी (Film Enquiry Committee) के मुताल्लिक बहुत सी बातें रखी हैं । मेरा गवर्नमेंट से कहना है कि फ़िल्म इन्क्वायरी कमेटी की जो सिफ़ारिशें हैं उन को इम्प्लीमेंट (implement) करने की जल्दी से जल्दी ज़रूरत है और उन को जल्दी से जल्दी अमली जामा पहनाया जाय । मेरा कहना है कि फ़िल्म फ़ाइनेंस कांर्पोरेशन (Film Finance Corporation) के मुकर्रर करने की बहुत ज़रूरत है । क्योंकि वे इंडिपेंडेंट प्रोड्यूसर्स जो कि चाहते हैं कि मुल्क की खिदमत करें और सोशल और एजुकेटिव टाइप की पिक्चर (picture) बनावें और जो कि मौजूदा माहौल में अपने आप को इस काम के लिये मजबूर पाते हैं उन के लिये गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि वह ऐसे प्रोड्यूसर्स की मदद करें और वह तभी हो सकता है जब कि एक फ़िल्म फ़ाइनेंस कांर्पोरेशन हो, जंसा कि इंग्लैंड में है । इंग्लैंड में नैशनल फ़िल्म फ़ाइनेंस कांर्पोरेशन (National Film Finance Corporation) ने १९५१ में ७८ प्रोड्यूसर्स को मदद दी । उस से हमारी गवर्नमेंट को सबक लेना चाहिये और उन कम्पनियों की इमदाद देनी चाहिये जो कि सही तौर पर मुल्क की खिदमत करना चाहती हैं और सोशल,

एजुकेटिव टाइप की पिक्चर बनाना चाहती हैं ।

इसी तरह से फ़िल्म कौंसिल (Film Council) के क्रायम करने की जरूरत है ताकि वह कम से कम प्रोडक्शन (Production) में, एक्जिबिशन (Exhibition) में और इसी तरह से बहुत सी बातों में गवर्नमेंट को सलाह दे सके और जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता तब तक मैं समझता हूँ कि मौजदा एटमासफ़ेयर (atmosphere) जो फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री में पाया जाता है उस को दूर नहीं किया जा सकता । हमारे मुल्क में थोड़े से ही स्टूडियो (studios) हैं और उन में फ़िल्म को प्रोड्यूस करने के लिये बहुत काफ़ी चार्ज (charges) किया जाता है, लेबर (labour) पर भी बहुत खर्च आता है, आर्टिस्ट्स और कलाकार क्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया खा जाते हैं, सरकार की तरफ़ से टैक्सेशन (taxation) इतना ज्यादा है और उन के ऊपर इतना ज्यादा बोझा है कि शायद ही चन्द प्रोड्यूसर्स ऐसे हैं जो कि कामयाब पिक्चर बना सकते हैं । अगर गवर्नमेंट कोई क़दम नहीं उठाती है तो मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि हमारी फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री दिन ब दिन गिरती जायगी, और देश की इतनी बड़ी इंडस्ट्री जिस से कि तालीम का काम तथा और दूसरे तामीरी काम लिये जा सकते हैं नेस्तनाबूद हो जायेगी, बर्बाद हो जायगी । मैं गवर्नमेंट से दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि वह इस सिलसिले में टैक्स लगाने की एक यूनीफ़ार्म पालिसी इख़तयार करें और फ़िल्म के प्रोड्यूस करने पर जो एक्चुअल प्राफ़िट (actual profit) होता है उसी के मुताबिक़ टैक्स वसूल किया जाय । मुझे बड़े अफ़सोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि पिक्चर तैयार नहीं होती, कुछ अभी हुआ नहीं और कोई जानता भी नहीं कि

इस पर प्रोड्यूसर या कम्पनी के मालिक की क्या प्राफ़िट मिलेगा लेकिन पहले से ही टैक्स बांध दिया जाता है कि इतना टैक्स लगाया जायगा । इस से प्रोड्यूसर्स को बड़ी दिक्कत होती है और उन को ऐनकरेजमेंट (encouragement) नहीं मिलता । बेहतर यह है कि एक्चुअल प्राफ़िट को देख कर टैक्स लगाया जाय ।

इसी के साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह भी जरूरी है कि गवर्नमेंट ज्यादा से ज्यादा सिनेमा खोले । हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर कुल ३,५०० सिनेमा हैं । रूस में, जिस की कि आबादी हिन्दुस्तान से आधी है ३९,००० सिनेमाघर मौजूद हैं और उसी तरह से अमेरिका में १९,००० के करीब हैं जब कि वहां की आबादी हिन्दुस्तान से बहुत ही कम है । मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा सिनेमा होने चाहिये मगर अफ़सोस है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी ऐसी है कि वह लोग जो कि सिनेमा खोलना चाहते हैं उन को लाइसेंस (licence) हासिल करने में बड़ी दिक्कत का सामना करना पड़ता है । गवर्नमेंट उन को लाइसेंस नहीं देना चाहती और अगर यह समझ कर नहीं देना चाहती कि ये इस का बिल नहीं हैं कि सिनेमा को चला सकेंगे या गवर्नमेंट के मियार के मुताबिक़ नहीं चला सकेंगे तो ऐसी हालत में गवर्नमेंट को खुद चाहिये कि बड़े बड़े शहरों में सिनेमाघर खोले और इसी तरह से गवर्नमेंट को स्टूडियोज़ को भी खोलना चाहिये । जिस जिस जगह फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्रीज़ के सेंटर हैं या जो लोग जहां के लिये मांग करें उस उस जगह गवर्नमेंट को स्टूडियोज़ खोलना चाहिये और माडर्न इक्विपमेंट (modern equipment) वहां पर रखना चाहिये ताकि जो इंडिपेंडेंट प्रोड्यूसर्स हैं जिन के पास कोई धन नहीं है

[श्री पी० एल० कुरील]

वह उन से लाभ उठा सकें। आप तो समझते हैं कि वे एक्जिबिटर्स (exhibitors) और डिस्ट्रीब्यूटर्स (distributors) से सरमाया लेते हैं, जो कि वह एडवांस (advance) करते हैं, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह उसी हालत में एडवांस करते हैं जब कि वह देखते हैं कि पिक्चर में सुरैया, मधुबाला या नर्गिस वगैरह काम कर रही हैं।

जब इक्जीबिटर या डिस्ट्रीब्यूटर (distributor) यह मालूम करता है कि इस पिक्चर में सुरैया या मधुबाला काम नहीं कर रही है तो वह प्रोड्यूसर को उस पिक्चर के लिये एक हजार रुपया भी नहीं देना चाहता है। इस तरह से प्रोड्यूसर को फ़ाइनेंस वसूल करने में बहुत मुश्किल का सामना करना पड़ता है। इस तरह की हालत आज हमारे फ़िल्म सनअत की हों गई। अगर हमारी सरकार उन लोगों की मदद न करे जो कि सोशल पिक्चर बनाना चाहते हैं, जो चाहते हैं कि देश की जनता की भलाई हो सके, तो वह अपना काम पूरी तरह से फ़ाइनेंस न होने की वजह से नहीं कर सकते। इस तरह के जो प्रोड्यूसर हैं और जो चाहते हैं कि इस देश में अच्छी और जनता का इखलाकी मयार ऊंचा करने वाली पिक्चर बनें तो उन को सब से बड़ी कठिनाई फ़ाइनेंस की उठानी पड़ती है। इसलिये गवर्नमेंट का यह फ़र्ज हो जाता है कि वह इस ओर ध्यान दे और इन लोगों की जो कि पिक्चरों द्वारा जनता को शिक्षित और उसका मयार ऊंचा करना चाहते हैं, उन की फ़ाइनेंस से मदद करें।

आज जो हम पिक्चरें देखते हैं वह इतनी गिरी हुई है कि जनता का इखलाकी मयार इन तस्वीरों के देखने से दिन ब दिन गिरता

चला जा रहा है। पिछले १५ वर्षों में काफ़ी अच्छी तस्वीरें हमारे सामने आई थीं। जैसे देवदास, विद्यापति, हमराही, अमृत मन्यन, पड़ोसी, सिकन्दर, अछूत कन्या, अमर ज्योति, औरत, रोटी, प्रिन्सिपल और इसी तरह की बहुत सी आदर्श तस्वीरें पिछले वर्षों में निकलीं। अब इस तरह की तस्वीरें हमारे मुल्क में नहीं दिखलाई देती हैं। अब तो आजकल जो तस्वीरें बन रही हैं उन का रूप ही दूसरा हो गया है। जिन तस्वीरों को आज कल जनता देख रही है उन से जनता का चरित्र दिन पर दिन नीचे गिरता ही चला जा रहा है। आज कोई तस्वीर ऐसी नहीं है जिस में सुरैया, मधुबाला, नर्गिस आदि न हों। इन के खेल देखने को जनता लालायित होती है और प्रोड्यूसर इस का बेजा फ़ायदा उठाते हैं। छोटा भाई, दहेज, आदमी, शीश महल, अफ़साना जैसी तीन चार तस्वीरों को छोड़ कर सब तस्वीरें ऐसी बन रही हैं और शहरों में जनता को दिखलाई जा रही हैं जिस से कि उन का इखलाकी मयार ऊंचा होने के बजाय नीचे गिरता ही चला जा रहा है।

मैं गवर्नमेंट से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस ओर तवज्जह दे और इस बात को रोके कि इस तरह की तस्वीरें जनता को न दिखलाई जायं जिन से कि उन के चरित्र खराब हों। अगर गवर्नमेंट इस ओर ध्यान देगी तो आप और हम देखेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो फ़िल्म इन्डस्ट्री है वह मु.क. की एक बड़ी इन्डस्ट्री हो जायगी। इस के जरिये से हम जनता की बहुत भलाई कर सकते हैं और सरकार को भी बहुत इस से आमदनी हो सकती है।

इसलिये मैं फिर इस बात का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार फ़िल्म इन्क्वा-

यरी कमेटी की जो सिफारिशें हैं उन को अमल में लायें। उस ने जो भी सिफारिशों की हैं वह सब अमल करने योग्य हैं। मेरे पास इस समय वक्त नहीं है नहीं तो मैं उन सब सिफारिशों की ओर इस हाउस का और सरकार का ध्यान दिलाता। मैं फिर भी सरकार का ध्यान फ़िल्म इन्डस्ट्री में जो इस समय ब्लैकमेलिंग (blackmailing) हो रही है उस की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर फ़िल्म प्रोड्यूस नहीं किये जाते हैं बल्कि वह करप्शन (corruption) और प्रोस्टिट्यूशन (prostitution) के अड्डे बन गये हैं। इस का नतीजा यह हुआ है कि इस से देश की जनता का चरित्र पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ रहा है और इस को सरकार को अवश्य रोकना चाहिये। अगर इन सेक्टरों को जो कि करप्शन और प्रोस्टिट्यूशन के केन्द्र बन गये हैं सरकार ने नहीं रोका तो इस से देश को बहुत हानि होगी।

इतना कहने के बाद मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ और जब कभी और मौका इस फ़िल्म इन्डस्ट्री के बारे में कहने का आयेगा, मैं इस के बारे में और वजाहत से बतलाऊंगा और उन पर नई रोशनी डालूंगा।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri P. L. Kureel (Banda Distt. cum Fatehpur Distt.—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, I wished to speak in English, but last time when I spoke, some hon. friends told me that, belonging as I do to Uttar Pradesh, I should speak in Hindi. Hindi is now our national language. I have, therefore, decided not to disappoint my friends in this respect. Having been born in the Punjab, I do not claim to possess any sound knowledge of Hindi. As a member of the late Central Legislative Assembly too, I, used to speak in English and this time also I intended to speak in that very language. I have

however, now decided to speak in Hindi.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, on a point of order, I wish to say that it is anything but Hindi.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: At least it is not English.

Shri P. L. Kureel: There is practically no difference between Hindi and Urdu. I have been given 15 minutes in which time I have to speak on the film industry. Before I express my views on that subject, I want to thank the President of the Indian Union for nominating an artist, Shri Prithvi Raj Kapoor, to the Council of States. So long our Government have not paid adequate attention to the film industry. It, therefore, gives me pleasure to note a change of policy in this respect. Just now only one artist has been nominated, but I have every hope that the Government and the Congress organization will try to have the artists and their representatives in a large number which will include the technicians, directors and producers also. We feel bewitched on seeing Madhubala, Nargis and Suraiya, but little do we know that their success is dependent largely on the technicians, directors and producers. It is a matter of disappointment to me that our public never seems to think that the film industry is so much dependent on the technicians and the producers. The total investment in our film industry stands at present at 40 crores of rupees from which the Government derives a fairly large revenue—to the tune of many lakhs—every year. But it is regrettable that our Government have not recognised it as an industry up till now. No sane person would be prepared to agree with their viewpoint that an enterprise with several crores of rupees investment and giving several lakhs of rupees as revenue to the Government is no industry at all.

We can use this industry for constructive ends. Sentiments of nationalism and patriotism can be aroused amongst our people through the medium of films and similarly so many other constructive objectives can be achieved with their help. This medium is so effective and can work a revolution in our youngmen and other people in general. It can prove much reformatory. You are aware Sir, of the important part that the films play in our daily life. It is, therefore, regretted that film industry should receive so scant attention on our part. The Government should pay more and more attention to it. Only very few of the so many films that are screened

[Shri P. L. Kureel]

daily can be called reformatory, social or educative in character. Mostly they are such as to have adverse effects on the moral character of our youngmen and sometimes the songs are so filthy as to have a definitely bad effect on the young folk. The Censor Board, no doubt, expunges some of these songs, but after that no care is taken to prevent them from being played on public places. Daily while passing in front of restaurants, we hear records of those songs being played. The Government have taken no steps to prevent the banned songs from reaching public places.

As things stand, the film industry is in the hands of a few semi-educated persons whose standard of education is not very high. Their sole object is to make as much money as possible from the public. They do not have even the remotest connection with art. The persons needed in the industry should be such as have its good at heart and hold that cause dear. They should be imbued with a feeling to utilize it in constructive work so needed for the country's progress. That, however, is impossible till an independent producer or a person possessing a strong desire to serve the industry and art in the real sense of the term, is afforded the necessary opportunity in the film industry. How is it that such persons are debarred from opportunities? The reason is that famous actors and actresses like Madhubala, Nargis and Suraiya demand nothing less than a lakh or a lakh and a half for working in one picture alone. What is more regrettable is that the Government are aware that in the accounts that sum is shown only as Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000 whereas in actual effect they demand Rs. 1,50,000. Thus the Government too suffer a loss in their revenues to the tune of several lacs. Still the Government are quite helpless in the matter and cannot do anything. Should an independent producer desire to produce films of educative or social interest, he is pained to face the reality that the co-operation of a handful of artists dominating the industry at present, is not forthcoming. Thus he finds many hurdles in the way and ultimately disappointment overtakes him. New artists must be encouraged. That will not only save money, but will also result in the progress of art and industry.

Shri S. K. Patil has brought many things relating to the Film Enquiry Committee to the notice of this House. I feel that many recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee should

urgently be implemented by the Government. I also feel that the need for the establishing of a Film Finance Corporation is vital. It is because till there is a Film Corporation on the lines of the one in England, no independent producers who wish to serve the country through pictures of social and educative type but who find themselves helpless in the present atmosphere, can feel encouraged. The Government must help them and this could only be done by establishing a Film Finance Corporation as suggested before. In England, the Film Finance Corporation helped 78 producers in 1951. Our Government must benefit by this example and they must help those persons who are imbued with the desire to serve the country in a right way through the medium of really social and educative type of pictures.

Likewise there is need for the establishment of a Film Council which may serve as an advisory body to the Government in the matter of production and exhibition of films and many other allied issues. Till that is done, I feel the present atmosphere pervading the film industry cannot be removed.

There is a limited number of studios in our country. The charges of film production in these studios are very heavy; the expenditure in respect of labour is also quite heavy. The artists demand very large sums while the Government taxation is so much that hardly a few producers can afford to produce a successful picture. The total burden on the producer is quite heavy to exhaust his resources. Should the Government fail to take suitable action the film industry may meet its downfall and thus such a big industry of the country which can be utilised as a medium of education and so many other constructive purposes, may utterly be ruined and become non-existent. I request the Government to adopt a uniform policy in that matter and levy the tax on the actual profits. It is regrettable that the rate of taxation is determined or an understanding to that effect is given even before the picture is produced or before anything at all is done in that behalf and at a stage when even a guess of the profits likely to accrue to the producer or the company is not possible. It creates many difficulties for the producers and he does not feel encouraged. It would be better to impose taxes after a complete picture of actual profits is available.

Besides, the Government should take steps to open more cinema houses. The total number of cinema houses at present is 3,500 while in Russia—a country with half our population—there are as many as 39,000 cinema houses. In America the number is 19,000. I feel there should be more cinema houses in this country. It is, however, regrettable that the present policy of the Government in this respect is such that persons prepared to open cinema houses, have to face so many difficulties in getting a licence for the same. In case the Government feel that persons concerned are not in a position to run them or run them according to their prescribed standard, they should themselves open cinema houses in all big cities. Similarly they should construct more studios also. More studios equipped with all modern equipment should be opened in places which are centres of the film industry or from which there has been a demand so that independent producers, who possess no funds, may be able to take advantage of them. The general impression is that the producers receive funds from exhibitors and distributors who advance money for the production of pictures. But perhaps you are not aware Sir, that they make such advances only when Suraiya, Madhubala or Nargis is sure to be assigned a role in the proposed picture. Should it, however, be known that neither Suraiya nor Nargis is playing any role in the picture, the exhibitor or the distributor will not be prepared to advance even one thousand rupees to the producer. Thus, the producers are put hard to arrange necessary finance for their pictures. That is the present position of our film industry. In the absence of any Governmental aid to the producers, who wish to produce social pictures which are conducive to the welfare of our people, it is very hard to complete that work satisfactorily for want of funds. The biggest hurdle in the way of producers desiring to produce pictures which may raise the moral tone of our people, is that of necessary finance. As such, it becomes the duty of our Government to help those producers financially who want to educate people and raise their morals through the medium of pictures.

The pictures exhibited these days are such as to cause a gradual degeneration of the moral character of our people in general. During the last fifteen years, there have been many good pictures such as Devdas, Vidya-pati, Hamrahi, Amritmanthan, Padosi,

Sikander, Achhut Kanya, Amarjyoti, Aurat, Roti, President etc. Similarly many other ideal pictures have been produced in the past. But such pictures are not to be seen in the country at present. Now, the very complexion of pictures is changed. The type of pictures which our people see these days, is causing their gradual moral degeneration. None of the present day pictures is without Madhubala, Suraiya or Nargis featuring in it. The public are much eager to see pictures featuring them which fact is unjustifiably exploited by the producers. Barring Chhota Bhai, Dahej, Admi, Shish Mahal, Aisana and a few others, the pictures that are produced and exhibited in urban areas are certainly such as to cause moral degeneration of the public rather than their moral elevation.

I want the Government to pay more attention to this aspect of the issue and take steps to prevent the exhibition of pictures which lower the morals of the people. With some attention on the part of the Government, our film industry will soon become one of the biggest industries that we have in this country. We can do much good to our people through films and also give a large revenue to the Government.

I, therefore, once more call upon the Government to implement the recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee. All of their recommendations are worth accepting. I wish I could bring these recommendations to the notice of the House, but I have no time to do that. Still I want to draw attention of the Government to the blackmailing prevalent in the film industry. It is now not a place for the production of films, but is rather a veritable centre of corruption and prostitution. This has a very damaging effect on the morals of our people and as such must be checked by the Government. Should the Government, however, fail to adopt effective measures in respect of these veritable centres of corruption and prostitution, the country stands exposed to much harm.

I hope to speak on this industry from another viewpoint in detail, should such an occasion present itself in future.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष
मद्रास, काँइ इस मंत्रालय के सम्बन्ध में

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

जो तरह तरह के कटीती-प्रस्ताव रखे गये हैं और विरोधी पक्ष से जिन माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं, उन सब को सुन कर मुझे कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ। मैं समझता हूँ कि पिछले वर्षों में यद्यपि इस विभाग के अनुदान में काफ़ी कमी की गई है लेकिन फिर भी उस ने आशातीत प्रगति की है। अभी मुझ से कुछ पहिले जो माननीय सदस्य श्री देशपांडे जी बोल रहे थे उन्होंने रेडियो पर पक्षपात करने का आरोप लगाया। मैं समझता हूँ कि जितने भी समझदार सदस्य इस सदन के हैं वह इस आरोप का विरोध करेंगे। चाहे कुछ भी हो यह बात सत्य है कि पिछले चुनाव में आल इंडिया रेडियो ने बड़ी निष्पक्षता के साथ चुनाव के कार्य का संचालन किया और जनता को शिक्षित कराया। चुनाव सम्बन्धी जितनी भी बातें हुईं उन का उस ने प्रचार किया।

मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन में कुछ ऐसे सदस्य हैं जिन को आलोचना करने का और सरकार के दोषों को बतलाने का असाध्य रोग हो गया है। वह एक तरह से क्रौनिक पेशेंट (chronic patient) हो गये हैं। चाहे उन का उस बात से सम्बन्ध ही या न हो, मगर वह सरकार के दोष निकालते जायेंगे और सरकार की आलोचना भी करते ही चले जायेंगे। मैं इस अवसर पर इस मंत्रालय के पिछले माननीय मंत्री श्री दिवाकर जी को बहुत बहुत बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने अपने कार्यकाल में इस मंत्रालय की उन्नति करने में बड़ा प्रयत्न किया और मुझे पूरी आशा है कि इस समय इस मंत्रालय के माननीय मंत्री जी एक उत्साही तथा सुयोग्य व्यक्ति हैं और उन के कार्यकाल में इस मंत्रालय में और भी अधिक प्रगति होगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यद्यपि हिन्दी के लिए इस मंत्रालय द्वारा इस बीच में काफ़ी कार्य किया गया है, जिस के लिये मैं इस विभाग को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि अब भी हिन्दी साहित्य और भाषा के प्रचार के लिये बहुत कुछ करने की आवश्यकता है। अब भी समय समय पर आल इंडिया रेडियो द्वारा जो भाषण विभिन्न विषयों पर प्रसारित किये जाते हैं उन में से हिन्दी में बहुत कम भाषण कराये जाते हैं। मेरा मंत्रालय से यह अनुरोध है कि हिन्दी के माध्यम द्वारा विश्व तथा भारत की समस्याओं पर अधिकारी विद्वानों द्वारा भाषण कराये जाने चाहिये। इस के साथ ही साथ दूसरे विद्वानों द्वारा भी भाषण कराने का प्रयत्न किया जाये। इस का एक परिणाम यह होगा कि जो बहुत से लोग हिन्दी भाषा के मूल भाषी नहीं हैं वह इन भाषणों को सुनने के बाद, अखबारों और रेडियो द्वारा, वह लोग हिन्दी भाषा से परिचित हो जायेंगे। इस प्रकार हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा का धीरे धीरे विकास होगा।

दूसरी बात मुझे जो इस मंत्रालय के समक्ष कहनी है वह यह है कि हमारे देश के अन्दर विभिन्न भागों की जानकारी के बारे में अभी तक कोई विशेष प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया है। उत्तर और दक्षिण के निवासी इस देश के एक दूसरे को अच्छी तरह से नहीं जानते हैं। आल इंडिया रेडियो को विभिन्न भागों के बारे में पुस्तकें छापनी चाहियें और एक दूसरे की संस्कृति, कला और साहित्य के सम्बन्ध में देश के विद्वानों द्वारा भाषण प्रसारित कराये जाने चाहियें। इस का असर यह होगा कि हम एक दूसरे के बारे में अच्छी तरह से जानकारी प्राप्त कर सकेंगे।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आप से एक और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। काश्मीर से ले कर आसाम तक हिमालय तक का जो भारतीय पन्डाल है उस में कुछ भाग ऐसा है जिस के बारे में हमारे देशवासी बहुत कम जानते हैं। इस में बहुत से पहाड़ी प्रदेश आ जाते हैं जिन के बारे में हमारे देशवासियों को बहुत कम ज्ञान है। काश्मीर तो एक अलग स्वतन्त्र सा देश है। पंजाब के पहाड़ी इलाके में कांगड़ा, शिमला आदि है उन से पूर्व में हिमाचल प्रदेश बसा हुआ है। उत्तर प्रदेश में पांच पर्वतीय जिले हैं। इसके बाद नेपाल, सिक्किम, भूटान और आसाम के पर्वतीय इलाके आ जाते हैं। मैं सरकार से यह अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि इन इलाकों के बारे में अभी तक हमारे देश के विभिन्न भागों के लोगों को ज्ञान नहीं है। हर एक देशवासी को हमारे देश के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त कराना आवश्यक है और उस की जानकारी कराई जानी चाहिये। काश्मीर के बारे में तो काफ़ी साहित्य प्रकाशित किया गया है और किया जा रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में कई चित्र भी बनाये गये हैं। हिमाचल प्रदेश के बारे में भी अभी पिछले साल एक डीक्यूमेट्री फ़िल्म तैयार किया गया है। यह बहुत ही सुन्दर बात इस मंत्रालय ने की और मैं इस के लिये मंत्रालय को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

“कुमाऊं हिल्स” के बारे में भी पिछले दिनों एक टेक्निकलर (technicolour) डीक्यूमेट्री फ़िल्म तैयार की गई है और यह काम भी इसी मंत्रालय द्वारा कराया गया है। मैं मंत्रालय का ध्यान इन कुमाऊं हिल्स (hills) के और हिमाचल प्रदेश के बीच का जो पहाड़ी प्रदेश है उस की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। इस पहाड़ी

प्रदेश में गढ़वाल, टिहरी-गढ़वाल और देहरादून के पहाड़ी जिले हैं। मैं सरकार का ध्यान विशेषकर इन तीन पहाड़ी प्रदेशों की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सरकार को इन भागों के बारे में देश के बाकी भागों को जानकारी कराने के लिये विशेष प्रबन्ध करने चाहिये। यह प्रदेश प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य का भंडार है, और तरह-तरह के लोग यात्रा करने के लिये यहां पर आते हैं। इस के सिवा इस प्रदेश में बहुत से तीर्थ स्थान हैं जिनमें यमुनोत्तरी, गंगोत्री, केदारनाथ, बद्रीनाथ प्रसिद्ध हैं, इस के साथ ही साथ यह प्रदेश तिब्बत से भी मिला हुआ है। कम्प्यूनिस्ट चीन द्वारा तिब्बत पर अधिकार हो जाने से इस प्रदेश का सामरिक महत्व भी बहुत बढ़ गया है। इन जिलों के बारे में मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि वह इन स्थानों के बारे में पुस्तकें निकाले, प्रकाशन किया जाय और रंगीन चल चित्र तैयार किये जायें जिन से कि बाकी देश की जनता इस भाग के बारे में अच्छी तरह से जानकारी प्राप्त कर सके। मैं विशेषकर गढ़वाल के उस भाग के बारे में जोर देना चाहूंगा जहां पर हमारे पवित्र केदारनाथ और बद्रीनाथ जी के मन्दिर हैं। पिछले दिनों ही समाचारपत्रों में इस सभा के सदस्यों ने पढ़ा होगा कि फ्रांसीसी पर्वतारोही दल चौखम्भा पर्वत पर सफलता के साथ चढ़ गया है। हमारे भारतीय पर्वतारोहियों का एक दल कामेल पर्वत की ओर गया है। पिछले वर्ष, फ्रांसीसी पर्वतारोहियों का एक दल नन्दादेवी पर्वत पर चढ़ने के लिये गया था। इसी तरह वहां पर फूलों की घाटी (वैली ओफ फ़्लॉवरर्स) गोहना झील और सतोपथ ग्लेशियर आदि बहुत से मनोहर स्थान हैं जहां पर जाने से हर एक का मन प्रसन्न हो जाता है। संसार भर से लोग इन स्थानों में यात्रा करने के लिये आते हैं। मैं यहां पर भवन

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

सदस्यों को याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सन् १९३८ ई० में, आज से करीब १४ साल पहिले, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी इस प्रदेश में गये थे तो उन्होंने इन स्थानों का दौरा करने के बाद एक स्टेटमेंट निकाला था—“फाइव डेज इन गढ़वाल” (गढ़वाल में पाँच दिन)।

उस में उन्होंने बतलाया था कि “माई अबाइडिंग इम्प्रेसन अबाउट गढ़वाल इज दैट आफ आइसोलेशन एंड पावर्टी”। वह गरीबी, उस का वह पिछड़ापन, आज भी १४ वर्षों के बाद भी विद्यमान है। कुछ सड़कें बन चुकी हैं, कुछ पर्यटन उद्योग भी प्रारम्भ हो चुका है, बद्रीनाथ के लिये कमेटी भी बनाई जा चुकी है, लेकिन इस प्रदेश का पूरा विकास नहीं हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस का विकास करने से जहाँ एक ओर हम पुराने तीर्थ स्थानों के लिये, जहाँ कि जगद्गुरु शंकराचार्य ने जा कर तपस्या की थी और जहाँ आज भी भारतवर्ष के प्रथमिक कोने से पचास साठ हज़ार यात्री हर वर्ष जाते हैं, उन को हम और सुविधायें दे सकेंगे और दूसरी ओर उस प्रदेश का भी कुछ उपकार कर सकेंगे।

मुझे से पहले कुछ वक्ता महोदयों ने चल चित्रों के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार प्रकट किये। मैं समझता हूँ कि कुछ वर्षों पहले वह जमाना था कि हर प्रान्त में सेंसर बोर्ड (Censor Board) होता था और वह अपने अपने दृष्टिकोण से सेंसरिंग किया करते थे। ‘बरसात’ नाम का जो चित्र बना था उस के सम्बन्ध में आप को मालूम ही है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में उस पर प्रतिबन्ध था जब कि वह पंजाब में बराबर चक रहा था और उस के रेकार्ड सब

जगह चल रहे थे, उन पर कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं था। मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि फ़िल्म सेंसरिंग के लिये सेंट्रल बोर्ड (Central Board) बन गया है और अब सब चित्रों के सेंसरिंग का प्रबन्ध उसी के द्वारा किया जाता है। लेकिन जैसा कि पाटिल साहब ने बताया, इस के द्वारा एक तरह का पोस्ट मार्टम किया जाता है। चित्र बन चुकता है और उसके वन जाने के बाद उसका सेंसरिंग किया जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह ठीक नहीं है। जब चित्र बनने शुरू होते हैं उसी समय उन की कहानी और उनके कथानक को लेकर उन की समीक्षा पूरी तरह की जानी चाहिये और उन में जितने भी अनैतिकता के दृश्य हों उन को हटा देना चाहिये। हाउस को मालूम होगा कि अभी फ़िल्म सेंसर-बोर्ड का एक आदेश निकला है कि नग्न अथवा अर्द्ध-नग्न दृश्य न दिखाये जायें। लेकिन हमारे जो चतुर फ़िल्म प्रदर्शक हैं वह इस तरह से चित्रों को उपस्थित करते हैं कि किसी तारिका को लेकर कहीं पर स्नान का दृश्य दिखाते हैं और स्नान के बहाने नग्न अथवा अर्द्ध नग्न दृश्य दिखाया जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय में नियमों का कठोरता से पालन करने की आवश्यकता है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारा मन्त्रालय इस ओर ध्यान देगा।

मुझे हिन्दी पत्रकारों की दशा के बारे में भी कुछ निवेदन करना है और वह यह है कि यद्यपि पत्रकार-कला को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिये थोड़ा बहुत प्रयत्न किया गया है, लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध करूँगा कि वह इस ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दें। मुझे इन्क प्रकार की शिकायतें मिली हैं कि अंग्रेज़ी का

कोई एक नया पत्र निकलता है तो प्रैस इनफारमेशन ध्युरो से उसे तुरन्त ही ऐक्रेडिशन (accreditation) मिल जाता है और हिन्दी के पत्र चाहे कितने ही वर्षों पुराने हों उन के लिये यह सुविधायें नहीं हैं। उन को इस तरह की अनुमति प्रदान करने में, ऐक्रेडिशन देने में, कुछ कंजूमी की जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय की भी छान बीन की जानी चाहिये।

11 A.M.

इस के अलावा एक विषय और है। यद्यपि इस मन्त्रालय का उस से अधिक सम्बन्ध नहीं है, फिर भी यह मन्त्रालय उस ओर ध्यान दे सकता है। प्रैस कमीशन (Press Commission) के निर्माण करने की घोषणा सरकार ने की है। यह एक बहुत ही सुन्दर विषय है। आज भी भारतवर्ष के पूंजीपतियों का ही नहीं बल्कि विदेश के पूंजीपतियों का भी अधिकार हमारे पत्रों पर है। अभी पी० टी० आई (P.T.I.), रियूटर्स (Reuters) के बारे में जिक्र किया गया। यह इस बात का प्रतीक है कि हमारे पत्रों के बारे में पूरी जांच-पड़ताल करने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे जो वर्किंग जर्नलिस्ट्स (working Journalists) हैं उन की दशा के विषय में भी पूरी जांच होनी चाहिये। वह कितने सुन्दर पत्र प्रति दिन हमारे पास पहुँचाते हैं लेकिन हम यह नहीं जानते कि कितना खून-पसीना एक करके वे उन समाचार पत्रों को तैयार करते हैं। इस बारे में वर्किंग जर्नलिस्ट्स फ़ीडरेशन ने एक पत्र प्रेषित किया है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार प्रैस कमीशन को नियुक्त करते समय उस पर विचार करेगी। यह प्रैस कमीशन केवल अंग्रेज़ी पत्रों तक ही सीमित न रहे बल्कि हिन्दी, जिस को संविधान में हमने राष्ट्रभाषा स्वीकार किया है और

राज्य-भाषा स्वीकार किया है, उस के प्रति-निधियों को भी उस में स्थान देना चाहिये।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Bhakta Darshan (Garhwal Distt.—East cum Moradabad Distt.—North-East): Sir, I was surprised at the various cut motions, that have been moved with regard to the demands of this Ministry, and the speeches of the opposition Members. Although the grant of this Department has been sufficiently reduced during the course of the last few years, still it has made much headway. A little while ago Shri Deshpande accused the Radio of favouritism. I am sure all the hon. Members who know the facts would deny that. It is an undeniable fact that the All India Radio has acted in an entirely impartial manner and helped to educate public opinion. It broadcast news of all sides at the time of the elections.

There are some Members in the House who seem incurably to suffer from the disease of criticising the Government. They have in a way become chronic patients of that disease. They must criticize the Government even out of context and must always find fault with them, real or imaginary. I take this occasion to congratulate the ex-Minister in charge of this Department, hon. Shri Diwakar. He spared no efforts to promote the development of this Department and I am sure that the present Minister, who is an able and energetic person will continue the work of his predecessor and this Department will make further progress under his regime.

Sir, although this Ministry has done much for the cause of Hindi for which it deserves congratulations, there still remains much to be done for the propagation and promotion of the Hindi language. Even now Hindi finds a minor place in the speeches broadcast from the All India Radio on various subjects. I appeal to this Ministry to see that Hindi finds its deserving place in the talks broadcast by the All India Radio. Talks on national and international problems by eminent scholars of Hindi should be broadcast. This would introduce Hindi to those whose mother tongue is not Hindi and will thus help in the propagation and promotion of our national language.

No attempt worth the name has been made to acquaint the public with

[Shri Bhakta Darshan]

the various parts of the country. The people of the North and the South are not well familiar with each other. The All India Radio must publish informative literature about the various parts of the country and arrange broadcasts from scholars on the culture, art and literature of the two parts. This would be very helpful in promoting mutual understanding.

I want to make one more point in this connection. Our countrymen know very little about the mountain range of the Himalayas extending from Kashmir to Assam. It contains many mountainous regions of which our people have little knowledge. Kashmir is more or less independent. In the mountainous part of Punjab, there are places such as Simla, Kangra etc. Towards the east of them is Himachal Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh there are five hill districts. They come the mountainous regions of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. It is necessary that our people acquire knowledge about our country and it is the duty of the Government to make that knowledge available to them. Enough literature has been published and is being published about Kashmir. Many films have also been prepared in this connection. A documentary film was produced last year about Himachal Pradesh also. This is a very good thing that this Ministry has done and I want to congratulate it for that.

A technicolour documentary has also been prepared about the Kumaon Hills by this Ministry. I want to draw the attention of the Ministry towards the hilly area situate between the Kumaon Hills and Himachal Pradesh. The districts of Garhwal, Tehri-Garhwal and Dehradun come in this region. I wish to invite particular attention of the Government to these three places. They must make proper arrangements to get this region known to other parts of the country. This region is a store-house of natural beauty and people from far and near come to visit these places. Besides, there are many places of pilgrimage in this region, of which Jannotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath and Badrinath are famous. Then, this region is bordering on Tibet. Occupation of Tibet by the Communist China has greatly increased its strategic importance. I therefore request the Government to publish literature about these places and prepare technicolour documentaries to enlighten the people.

I specially want to lay stress on that part of Garhwal where the temples of Kedarnath and Badrinath are situated. The hon. Members must have recently read in the newspapers that a French expedition party has been successful in climbing the Chaukhambha peak. An Indian expedition party has proceeded to Mount Kamat. Last year a French expedition had gone to climb Mount Nanda Devi. There are beautiful places such as the Valley of Flowers, Gohna Lake and Satopanth Glacier, which convey to the heart and mind a real joy. People come to visit these places from all over the world.

Here I want to remind the hon. Members that nearly 14 years ago, in 1938, when our Prime Minister had visited that region, he had given a statement under the head: "Five Days in Garhwal". He had said in that statement, "My abiding impression about Garhwal is that of isolation and poverty". That poverty and that isolation are still there even after 14 years. A few roads have been constructed, some tourists' traffic has also begun flowing and a committee has been formed for Badrinath; but this area is not yet fully developed. By developing this region we shall on the one hand be providing amenities to 50 or 60 thousands of travellers who annually visit this place, where Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya had done meditation and on the other hand can benefit the people of the region itself.

Some speakers previous to me expressed their views about motion pictures. I think sometime back there used to be a censor board in each Province that used to censor films from its own point of view. As you know, a ban was imposed on the picture 'Barsaat' in Uttar Pradesh while it ran unrestricted in Punjab, and the records of its songs were played everywhere; there was no restriction on them. I am glad that a Central Board has now been constituted for film censoring and all films are now censored by it. But, as Shri Patil said, the Board does a sort of *post mortum* work. Censoring is done after the film has been produced. I do not think it to be the right way. There should be a thorough perusal of the story, dialogues and everything else and all indecent portions should be removed. The House will remember that recently the Censor Board had issued a circular that naked or semi-naked scenes should not be exhibited. But the

shrewd film directors present the pictures in such a way that an actress is shown naked or semi-naked under the pretext of a bathing scene. I think therefore that the rules should be strictly applied and I hope that the Ministry will take note of this thing.

I should like to say a few words about Hindi journalists also. Although some efforts have been made to give encouragement to journalism, I would request the hon. Minister to pay more attention to it. I have received complaints of the nature that the Press Information Bureau immediately gives accreditation to any newly started English paper but Hindi papers, however old they may be do not enjoy this privilege. There is delay in giving them accreditation. Enquiry should again be made in this matter.

There is one thing more. Although this Ministry is not very much connected with it, still if it pays its attention to it, this can be done. Government have announced to appoint a Press Commission. It is a right thing. Our newspapers today are under the ownership of not only Indian but also foreign capitalists. A reference was made a short while ago to the P.T.I.-Reuters. It shows that a full inquiry is needed to be made into the affairs of our newspapers. A full inquiry is necessary to ascertain the condition of our working journalists. We do not realize that the newspapers that reach us have behind them the hard toil of these working journalists. The Working Journalists' Federation has issued a circular in this connection and I hope that the Government will take it into consideration while appointing the Press Commission. This Press Commission should not be confined to English papers only but the representatives of Hindi papers should also find a place on it, for Hindi has been recognised as the national language.

Sir, that is all I had to say and with thanks I resume my seat.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I can give opportunity to one more Member if he is prepared to finish in ten minutes. Mr. Khardekar. But if he wants to take more than that, then I will call the Minister immediately.

Siri Khardekar: Unfortunately, I suffer from some disadvantages. I have never been a broadcaster, nor have I the dramatic element which my friend Shri Chattopadhyaya possesses. Nor have I the insight and the first-hand information that the hon. Member Mr. S. K. Patil has. And after

having heard all the speakers and when all the relevant material has been exhausted, I am glad that I am given only ten minutes.

I do not wish to repeat, it is not my habit. I will concern myself only with the censoring of films because that is my cut motion. With regard to censoring, this censoring of films is a part of a wider censoring of artistic expression, literary expression and so on. And why do Governments resort to censoring? If that question is to be answered, one has to go far back, almost to the Greeks. You know that the greatest artist was unfortunately the greatest enemy of art, and I refer here to Plato. Plato condemned art or most of it because he said art is based on falsehood, it is an imitation of an imitation, and that art is immoral. Fortunately, Aristotle corrected Plato and created an independent position for aesthetics. I am taking a wide jump about ten—why ten, 25 centuries. I now come to Milton, a great man, who said: "Let all literature be published; let all art have full expression; let us not try to suffocate or throttle the artist because to have censorship or a Board of Censors is to presume infallibility in certain persons, and that can never be accepted." And then again, "it is preventing our richest mercandise, that is, truth." And again, "Every virtue" said Milton, "if it is to be real, must be tested in the furnace of temptation."

The other day I was rather shocked to hear that the Railway Minister had issued a circular discouraging certain literature from the Soviet Union. I am not a Communist myself—and the ground given by the Railway Minister is that the literature is tendentious in nature. Most literature is tendentious in nature, that is, having a purpose and leading to a certain cause and so on. I do not know if the Railway Minister has read only poets like Tennyson full of sweetmeat and lollypops. As once Shaw said "art for art's sake is all bunk. I would not scribble a line if I am merely an artist of that nature." An artist is first a man, and to that extent, an artist is a shameless person. And coming from that to this question of film censorship, I have this sentence here from the notification re: Directives to the Examining Committees by the Chairman of the Board:

"No film shall be certified for public exhibition which may lower the moral standards of those who see it."

Now, who and how to decide these moral standards. What is moral first

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of all? It is very difficult. Things which are accepted by the majority, things which have been customary are considered to be moral, and I know when one talks about majority I am reminded that the other day the Speaker gave a certain ruling when Mr. More talked about raising a point of order. Mr. More said that he should have been allowed to move a certain cut motion, and the Speaker, probably rightly anticipating the result, said there would be no point. Mr. More was rather grieved, but I told Mr. More outside that technically he might be right. The Speaker really was right because he knows what the majority consists of. It is dead, usually a lifeless thing, entirely customary in its view, and because the Speaker has had experience of several years, he knows there is no possibility of any new truth dawning on the majority. I would even proceed further and quote Harold Laski who says that the great truths are always in the minority of one. It is always agreed that genius comes out with great truth and then others try to follow, and are converted. So, this question of throttling of genius is really extremely bad.

Then, let me talk of this morality business. The other day I was taking a walk along with two South Indian friends...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is morality a business?

Shri Khardekar: Well, I will just talk about that. I was taking a walk when I was pulled back, almost pinched by one of my friends. I do not know why. I asked him "Why"? He said "Look". I said, "At what"? It was a young lady going with a tennis racket, and probably wearing shorts. I was not surprised at all, because I have seen young ladies going for tennis in shorts, but these South Indian friends have not seen. I said "What is there"? He said: "Look at the dress". There was nothing exceptional in it, because two years ago in Bombay I had seen the glamour American girl Gussie Moran who had shocked even the Wimbledon crowds, because she had the barest of clothing. You might think you are putting on a very decent dress. (*Interruption*). By 'you', I mean the hon. Members of this House, because I have to address the Members through you. I think your dress is quite decent as far as the upper portion is concerned. But just imagine yourself going into the street, and there is a fierce wind blowing. What happens? The *dhoti* flies, and offers less protection than even the shortest of shorts. So, it is very

difficult to say what is moral and what is immoral. Coming to very important things men of greatness right from Galileo to Darwin and at the present day, you will have great ideas being throttled and great men being persecuted.

Then I come directly to the films. A friend of mine who was a Professor in Bombay, who was a great economist and was a very learned man, had never seen a picture in his whole life. He was a learned man, but he suffered from bad liver, he could not digest his food, and he could not enjoy anything good in his life. He was appointed a member of the Board of Film Censors. A friend of mine by name Mr. Atre has produced a number of pictures, and in one of the pictures, there is a beautiful scene where Lord Krishna is doing *rasakreeda* with his *gopis*, the usual thing in which Lord Krishna indulges. One of Lord Krishna's playmates said to him in a jocular manner: "My dear Lord, why not give me some chance?" Now this was not censored first, but one gentleman from Poona—he is an institution, so there is no harm in giving out his name—Mr. Krishna Rao Marathe wrote to the Board of Film Censors saying that this is obnoxious, and abominable and so on, and therefore this portion must be deleted. I will tell you one thing about this Krishna Rao Marathe. If you give him a good novel to read, he will go through the whole novel most carefully and see how many times the word "kiss" appears in that novel. If he goes to see a picture, he will see what is the distance between the hero and the heroine, and whether there is any possibility of their indulging in any immoral activity. Not only that, he will not simply confine himself to this, he will see in the house, how many couples are there, and how many couples there used to be last year and so on and how far morality has been deteriorating. Such sort of moral standards he used to apply. Art is really non-moral. I say, if art is to be checked, let there be artists to check it from the artistic point of view, otherwise it is not possible to have any art at all.

I shall tell you one other very interesting experience of mine, within a minute's time. I was in Italy in the year 1936, and while in Rome, I went to the Vatican where I saw a very interesting painting by Michael Angello, which was divided into three parts. There were nude and beautiful dames in the upper portion, that was heaven, and then the middle portion

was the earth, where there were pompous persons like ourselves, and in the lower part, there was the figure of an ass with the face of a particular clergyman, who was a very bad and harsh critic of Michael Angello. He was really an ass in art, he did not know anything. So, this was the painting. When the clergyman saw that painting, he went to the Pope with the complaint that Michael Angello ought to be punished and the Pope replied "What is the matter?" He said: "Look at the nude figures." The Pope replied: "What is there? While in Heaven, there are no passions among persons and so on, among these fairies and the goddesses. So, it is all right. Nobody is tempted there. Therefore it is all right." As regards the earth where the Pope and others were represented in their proper apparel, with all their dignity and pageantry, there was nothing objectionable. Then the clergyman said "Look at the lower part of the painting, where obviously this is my face, which has been linked up with long ears and the body of an ass. Is this not libel on me?" The Pope said: "Yes, it is definitely a libel. But unfortunately enough, I have no jurisdiction over hell. I am a religious man and you are in hell". So, as my time is up, I would only conclude by saying that asses should not be there to guide, correct and control art. That is my main submission.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): At the very beginning, I might say that all the Members who have spoken up till now, whether they belong to the Opposition or to the majority party, have echoed more or less the principle that this department is an important one. And I would gladly agree with the observations made by my friend Mr. S. K. Patil, and also by my friend Mr. H. N. Chattopadhyaya that this is a very vital department. It has immense potentialities, and to some extent we have neglected it, or we have been obliged to neglect it. But at the same time, I would like the House to take into consideration the question what shall be the order of priorities when the Government has before it certain very urgent matters for expenditure, which cannot brook any delay, and certain other matters which are very important and vital, but which nevertheless must come second in the order of preference. That was really the reason why to their great regret, the Government has had to cut down expenditure on this very vital department in the last few years. I would like to draw the attention of hon. Members to the years 1948-49,

when the economic situation was very critical and the Government had to wield the axe indiscriminately on all departments and at that particular moment, it was natural that notwithstanding the importance of this department, whether it is for information or for broadcasting, we had to stop for some time the expansion of our activities, and to wait for better times.

So though I sympathise with his ideas—I myself would like very much that the work of broadcasting, the work of the cinema industry in India, the work of the Information Ministry as such should expand as much as possible—unfortunately, we are in a position when more important nation-building activities have to get first place. But I am sure that my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, who himself realises the importance of these activities will try his best to give us more money in the coming year and the year after that so that these activities will expand as it is the expressed desire of most of the Members of this House.

Shri A. C. Guha (Santipur): Does he agree to that proposal?

Dr. Keskar: He will do it according to his best ability. Whether he can do.....

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): He does not disagree.

Dr. Keskar: My friend, Shri Chattopadhyaya, made a number of observations. I listened to his speech very carefully. Some are such that I heartily agree with his wishes. Certainly I am one of those who would like that artists in the A.I.R. should be treated in the best possible way; especially artists with talent are people who cannot be treated just as if they come for begging, and amenities for them and even payment for them should be increased. I am in agreement. But suddenly he switched off to another point and he appeared to give more importance to it than to the subject of his immediate beginning, namely, the A.I.R. and that was regarding the Press Trust of India. But I will leave aside the question of the Press Trust of India to answer some of the other points that he made out.

He was talking about the Calcutta transmitting station and how by mistake or rather oversight, the transmitting towers were built very near the aerodrome and therefore their height could not be raised. Now, if he had

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just tried to inquire into the real facts, he would have known that these transmitters had to be built at very short notice and very urgently and, therefore, we had no other place available. They had to be built there and we had already designed to transport the transmitters to a better site where we would be able to raise the transmitting towers to the necessary height, but for the moment we had to be satisfied with the place that we could have. That is the real reason and there is no reason for him to feel that that it is out of shortsight or by mistake that the station was erected at that particular place.

Then he was making a suggestion regarding the formation of the All India Radio into a Corporation. I have no objection in principle to this department of radio being run as a Corporation. But I would like this House to take into consideration the present position of broadcasting in India. At present we are getting about a crore and thirty lakhs of rupees as revenue from licence and other fees regarding broadcasting. The expenditure, having been cut down by various economy cuts in the last three to four years, at this moment is about rupees two crores plus the capital expenditure proposed—about Rs. 40 lakhs. There is a gap in the revenue and expenditure of one crore. Broadcasting in India is even now in an embryonic stage, whether from the technical point of view, or from the point of view of the number of listeners or from the point of view of the interest taken by listeners in programmes. Many people were referring to there not being programmes for 18 hours. I would certainly agree with them. But at the same time, the interest in having a programme at any time, we have to remember, is concentrated in certain urban areas where even now the number of listeners is not very great, not sufficient yet for having a very big expenditure on our broadcasting stations. I feel unless the number of listeners increases, until there is a greater demand and, therefore, until we are able to make up to a certain point this department self-sufficient, it is rather difficult perhaps to make this into an autonomous corporation; because the question will always arise as to what work the corporation proposes to do, whether Government should finance a deficit corporation, and there will be continuous criticism on the floor of the House about the working of the corporation, there will have to be many revisions of the work of the corporation. of its body of Governors etc. So

I feel that the time has not yet come to make this into an autonomous corporation. I would certainly like to make it as soon as possible.....

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West): How soon will it be?

Dr. Keskar: When the number of listeners in the country increases to such an extent that the corporation can meet its expenditure by radio licence and other fees. I do not think that it is very far. My feeling is that within the next three to four years this stage is bound to come.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): How will that census be taken?

Dr. Keskar: Radio licence fees are paid to the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs and there is a record kept. I may inform hon. Members that during the last 1½ years we have a very encouraging increase in the number of licences. For example, from five lakhs we have jumped to 6½ and now we are coming up to eight lakhs. So I do not think that in this matter the progress is too slow, but it is not sufficiently quick.

There is one snag with regard to this question of increase of radio licences. The question is linked with the price of a radio set. Ours is a poor country and as long as radio sets are very costly, it is not possible for the ordinary man to buy a radio set. Prices are generally above 125 to 150 rupees and the number of buyers, therefore, is not very large. Therefore, the question of a reduction in the price of radio sets is intimately linked with an increase in the number of radio licence-holders. I am sorry to say that in this matter we have had not much co-operation from the radio industry in our efforts to reduce the price of radio sets.

Shri B. Das (Jajpur-Keonjhar): And also the Finance Minister.

Dr. Keskar: We had put forward proposals for having a standard set which could be listened to by people in an area of a medium wave station and whose price would be below Rs. 100. But unfortunately most of the manufacturers seem to be firm that their margin of profit should be nearly 100 per cent. Otherwise they think that the risks are so many that they cannot take up the sale. That is one of the reasons why we have not been able to get a very large number of sets available at a very cheap and popular price. But Government are

pursuing the matter and we hope, if not with the complete co-operation of the industry, with our own effort to try to reduce this price of radio sets and thus to make it available to quite a large number of people. That will help in bringing the number of listeners up to an extent when radio broadcasting in India will become, to some extent, self-supporting.

My friend referred also to the question of a top-heavy administration in All India Radio. I regret that our expenditure on the administrative side is still much larger than what it should be. The reason is not because that Government think that a very big administrative machinery is necessary. The reason is that the programme of radio station and the development of broadcasting in India that was envisaged at the very beginning had to be suddenly changed due to economy cuts; in the beginning quite a number of radio stations were opened at a number of places, hoping that within a few years we would be able to make these pilot stations into full-fledged ones having powerful transmitters which would serve the whole area. Immediately after the beginning of this programme, it had to be curtailed and cut down, because Government had to exercise economy and no money was available. The situation after the economy cut was this, that we had a number of stations where to maintain the station itself we had to have a minimum staff to carry on without any prospect in the immediate future of expansion or making the station into a full-fledged one. That is one of the main reasons why there has been greater expenditure on administration.

I realise that this cannot continue for long. But I would at the same time request my hon. friends in the House to realise that they cannot have it both ways. We cannot have a number of stations all over India. And there are demands made every day. My hon. friend from Malabar was pleading for the Calicut station and was very angry that it is linked up with the station at Trivandrum. If we want to have in every small area a radio station, and if we want it is a full-fledged one, well, it will not be possible with the amount of money at our disposal. With the amount of money at our disposal we have to take a decision and see that whatever we have is done efficiently and effectively. With the capital that we have at present there is only one thing that we can do. We can have the minimum number of effective stations, but such studios as will function

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effectively and will not be studios only in name established in order to placate local opinion but in reality giving nothing. That leads later to dissatisfaction, and hon. Members come in the House and protest that at particular stations the programme is no good. It is not possible with our present finances to give the programmes which they would like us to give in all the stations whether big or small. And I put it to the House that if we want to reduce the overall administrative expenditure, we will have to have the minimum number of stations, but that minimum number of stations should be well run and should have good programmes and programmes which will satisfy the public and that when we can get more money we will expand and have a greater chain of stations later on. This will also enable us to spend more money on programmes. That is very important.

Quite a number of criticisms were made by Shri Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya and other Members regarding the quality of programmes. As I said, during the last two or three years, in the course of cuts and counter-cuts and again expansions and then cuts, the administrative work and the work of programmes has followed a zigzag line, and the All India Radio has not been able to plan effectively for a good expansion of programmes. It is necessary for better programme planning to have a body which will go into the whole question. The Government therefore propose very soon to set up a Central Programme Advisory Committee consisting of persons competent to deal with this question. The Committee will go thoroughly into the whole question and lay down the broad policy regarding the programmes of the All India Radio. At the same time we propose that, as music occupies a very important place in the programmes of the All India Radio—it is more than 50 per cent.—a Central Music Advisory Committee will be established which will lay down the music policy of the All India Radio. These Committees will be supplemented by regional audition committees which will function in helping to pick up local talent for regional music or regional cultural activities.

There is also great scope for programmes in the rural areas. Some Members referred to programmes in the rural areas. There is a cut motion by Shri More—he did not move it—regarding programmes in the rural areas. Now, these programmes cannot be carried out without having a very

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elaborate organisation which will supply battery-sets with batteries which will have to be continuously recharged and looked into and repaired. It is therefore something which it is not possible for this Ministry to carry out without complete co-operation and even active and financial help from the State Governments. I hope that in this matter we will get greater help from the State Governments and that we will be able to have a chain of rural programmes all over the country very soon.

My hon. friend Mr. Deshpande began his speech with a reference to P.T.I.-Reuter and went on to some other subject afterwards. But I would like to refer to this question of P.T.I.-Reuter in regard to which both Shri Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya and Shri Deshpande wanted to make capital out of the supposed subsidy given by the Government to P.T.I. I was very much surprised. I have gone thoroughly into this question of a so-called subsidy to P.T.I.-Reuter. I have looked into the figures, but I do not see where we are giving a subsidy to the Press Trust of India. Shri Chattopadhyaya was very angry that we paid a particular sum to the Press Trust of India and we did not probably give so much to some other news agencies. Now, I might tell my hon. friend that if he goes into any newspaper office and asks that particular newspaper what sums it pays to a particular agency, he will find that sums are paid to news agencies on the basis of the importance of the service which they render to the paper—the words, the teleprinter lines they have got, the stations they have got from which they give the news, and other relevant matters. No paper would agree to give to every agency an equal amount. That would only mean that ultimately the newspapers will decide to have only one agency, because they cannot give an equal amount to every agency.

Shri V. G. Deshpande rose—

Dr. Keskar: I will certainly answer all the hon. Member's questions. Let him listen to me. Later, he can ask me any questions and I am prepared to answer them—whether they pertain to broadcasting or whether they pertain to All India Radio or other subject

After all, the Government has to pay for services rendered by any news agency, and in paying we have to take into account the importance of the services rendered by the news agency

whether to the All India Radio or to others. It is exactly like a newspaper. At present in India there is no doubt that the Press Trust of India is the most important news agency. It has got more than 17,000 lines of teleprinter with 50 or 60 offices. It gets news from every corner of India. If we really want to subscribe to that service, we have to pay for it. If any other service comes to us, we would like to pay them taking into account their usefulness and according to the amount of news that they will give us. I think that is the principle which is followed by every news agency and every newspaper in the world. We are not trying to do it in any other way. Now, as regards the question of Government subsidy, as to how much the Government is paying to the P.T.I., I have looked into the financial aspect. At present the Government is paying to the Press Trust of India six per cent. of the total revenue of the Press Trust of India. On the other hand, the Press Trust of India is giving to the Government 14 per cent. of its revenue in the shape of payments for telegraphic and other charges.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara Reserved—Sch. Castes): What is the amount of loss to the Government?

Dr. Keskar: It is a loss to P.T.I. and not to us.

Shri Velayudhan: To the Government of India.

Dr. Keskar: I have gone into the question of payments to agencies. Let us go to the countries to which hon. Members are always referring here—how much they are paying to the agencies in those countries. I do not think that in countries from America to Russia—in America all sorts of agencies exist—the agencies which render this service are paid less; they are certainly paid many times more. The Government is subscribing to many agencies and it pays to those agencies charges which are commensurate with the service which they render, and I do not think these criticisms can be held to have any validity whether from the point of view of payment by a newspaper or from any other point of view. The Government has been very scrupulous, in order to avoid the charge of showing favour to P.T.I., not to pay anything which can be considered in the nature of a subsidy. My hon. friend here was saying that the

All India Radio is paying to the P.T.I. so much money. Let him go and see what the other broadcasting corporations in the world are paying to the various news agencies. You will find that it is many times more.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: I want to know whether it is a fact that Rs. 19,000 per month are being paid to the P.T.I. and whether these charges are more when compared not only to other news agencies but also to the rates charged by P.T.I. for the same amount of service to other news papers. The rates of Class A service of P.T.I. charged to the biggest papers is between Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000.

Dr. Keskar: I am unable to place figures on the Table. Government cannot disclose what it pays to various news agencies because it is not possible. If the Government does it, it will lose all its bargaining power with the news agencies, including P.T.I. It is not always necessary but I would ask my hon. friend to make an enquiry and find out whether P.T.I. has been paid more than what it should be paid according to the news that it gives, or the messages that it gives. I do not think that that charge can be substantiated. (*Interruption*).

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Dist.—West cum Rae Bareilly Dist.—East): He is asking about the United Press.

Dr. Keskar: My hon. friend considers United Press a better service. The question whether a service is better or not and which gives the largest amount of news is for us to decide. In any case it is not possible for any Government to say that there are a number of agencies and all must be paid equally. (*Interruption*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister does not yield.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): On a point of order, Sir. We are debating here the Demands for Grants for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the hon. Minister makes a bald statement that he cannot reveal figures. I am asking: Is he within his rights to withhold that information from this House?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are certain matters as matters of public interest, and with respect to the decision of what is a public interest, that entirely rests with the Ministry or with the Government to say.

Shri S. S. More: Is P.T.I. a matter of public interest. (*Interruption*)

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Sir, my simple question is that when the hon. Minister is giving percentages can he not give us figures? Are we not entitled to know the figures?

Dr. Keskar: This is not a kind of a confidential matter. It is a business confidence and that is the reason why I do not want to give the figures. No business will reveal what it pays to various agencies. He might go to any business and verify this. If the Government gives figures about various agencies, it will suffer a loss in bargaining with the agencies. Certainly the figures can be placed before the House but ultimately the Government will be a loser in that. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I thought the hon. Member was saying that there was something confidential in this matter. When he does not refer to it in that fashion, I think, now that we are debating the Demands for Grants, it is open to the House to ask what exactly is being paid. It is the business of the House on this Demand, as on any other Demand, to curtail wastage in expenditure and one service is as good as another service, on that of course the ultimate decision will be in the hands of the Government to say whether one service is better than the other. But if one service charges more and out of all proportion, that is a wastage. I do not see any confidential matter in this. The hon. Minister must be prepared to give this information.

Dr. Keskar: I submit again that in this matter although you have given a ruling. (*Interruption*). I am addressing the Chair and not you. If my hon. friend will look at the detailed Budget estimate, the amounts paid to all in a lump sum will be available. Now as regards the rates etc., we have bargained, it will not be proper to give that information because that way the Government will suffer a loss. Yet if you want, I can place on the Table of the House all the figures regarding the agencies, if you so desire. But I maintain, Sir, again that it is not possible for any Government, whether this Government or any other Government, to pay to every agency—whether a mushroom agency or a good agency—equal charges because the Government subscribes to that proposition. It is a fantastic proposal. They may like particular agencies to be patronised but the Government cannot accept that principle that because the Government is subscribing to six different agencies, it must pay equally to all the agencies and I do not think that that

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principle can be substantiated. My friend Mr. Khardekar.....

Shri Raghobachari (Penukonda): The only point that I wish to know is.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Minister may continue.

Dr. Keskar: My friend Mr. Khardekar delivered a speech which was very interesting and it ultimately boiled to this "Who is to judge what is moral and what is not moral?" He thinks this matter should be left to the artists themselves who cannot be judged by anybody. Now, really, I have no quarrel with the proposition that he has placed before us. But at the same time when we are dealing with a subject which deals for example with showing to millions of people visually some spectacles, we have to take into consideration what might even be considered as prejudices of the mass of the people. He himself will remember that there have been riots on account of certain films or shows made. Now those riots might have been very rational but they were there and it is not possible for the Government to completely ignore the sentiments of the mass of the people and the cinema is a means of visually showing pictures to the mass of the people. Of course, I am one of those who like the greatest amount of liberty to be given to the artists. Personally, I would like full liberty to be given to them. But it is not possible in a democratic country especially for us to take into consideration the feelings of the masses. He was saying something about Lord Krishna—a film—and he was rather surprised that the particular gentleman objected to something being shown. Does he not remember that riots took place because the prophet of a particular religion was maligned in the film and the Government of course were rightly forced to withdraw the film because we cannot ignore the mass sentiment. Mass sentiment sometimes goes beyond rationality and you will have to bow down to it. But we would try to see that as far as possible artists or their genius is not allowed to be curtailed always and at every place by what may be called the general moral code. But certainly you cannot dispense with the general moral code. My friend delivered a long lecture on morality. I liked it. He quoted so many big professors. He quoted Plato and Aristotle. But I will say that morality is a relative term and even Plato and Aristotle quarrelled about it. Similarly we can also quarrel about it. It is very difficult to define it but we will go by our own general standards prevailing

and see that public resentment is not created. That standard we will have to follow. Unfortunately we have not yet arrived at that stage of individual liberty which probably he wanted when artists and people like them can show everything they like to the public and the public tolerates it. That perhaps does not exist at this stage. Let us hope that that stage will arrive, and when it arrives, certainly, I would be one of those who will support him that the artists' genius should come into full play.

I have taken more time than I should have. But I would like to mention briefly one or two other matters referred to by hon. Members.

Regarding the censorship of films Mr. Patil referred to the suggestions made in the Film Enquiry Committee report. I entirely agree with him and I feel that as soon as possible we should try to implement those suggestions which require implementation. He was rather critical of our waiting for the views of the State Governments, but he will himself realise that in questions of taxation or equality of taxation it is necessary to have at least the opinion of the State Governments before we can go further. But I might assure him that we are trying to proceed as quickly as possible and before the next session of the House we propose to bring in legislation at least on some of the points mentioned in the Film Enquiry Committee report.

Then there were points regarding Hindi raised by some Members, each contradictory to the other. I cannot go into this whole question thoroughly because the question of Hindi has been debated on other occasions and is known to this House. But I was rather amused: My friend, Mr. Deshpande spoke so fervently in favour of Hindi but I have picked out sixteen Urdu words from his speech. What I would like to say is that it is not possible to separate Hindi and Urdu. (An Hon. Member: "How many English words?") Hindi, or whatever you may call the national language, will be the language of the people. It will contain words from all sources. However, I would not like to debate this question further as it is already late.

I would like to mention one point regarding the question of film censorship. Two other friends also referred to the question and said that Government was not effectively censoring the films. Quite the contrary to what Mr. Khardekar had said! Remember, we have established the Central Board

of Film Censors according to the Act passed in 1950, and it has been working for the last 1½ years. We have been very carefully watching the functioning of the Board and we propose to take steps to see that whatever defects have been found in its functioning are remedied as soon as possible so that censorship in future will not give rise to criticism as it has been doing till now.

One final word to my friend who spoke about the radio stations at Calicut and Trivandrum. A radio station is maintained taking into consideration the area it serves and the number of listeners there. As I said in the very beginning, it is not possible for us to put up a radio station in every cultural area as you would like. As regards his objection to the linking up of Trivandrum and Calicut radio stations, I am afraid that for the moment I can give him no hope of de-linking them as it will mean a very big additional expenditure. At the same time I shall certainly see that the legitimate cultural aspirations of that part of Malabar are not satisfied and I will certainly look into the complaint that the artists from Malabar district are not given sufficient scope.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): May I ask the hon. Minister.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Immediately the hon. Member addresses the Chair, the Chair is not bound to jump up and call the hon. Member. He must have patience.

Shri Nambiar: Sir,.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, I will not allow the hon. Member to go on.

Shri Namdhari (Fazilka-Sirsa): I want to make a clarification. The Opposition has said that for the same service while the P.T.I. is paid Rs. 3,000 to 4,000 by the newspapers, why should the radio stations give them Rs. 19,000 or 20,000. As a clarification I may say that the papers are printed only once in 24 hours while the radio stations broadcast five or ten times and A.I.R. gets continuous service from P.T.I.

Shri Velayudhan: Sir, may I ask a question?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, already the time is up. I will not allow the hon. Member. He has no right to speak after the Minister has replied. So far as questions are concerned we have had enough of them and then there is the question hour also. There is a

limit to this. The other hon. Minister is waiting for his Demands to come up. We have before us the important subject of minority affairs. Already there is an encroachment on that subject to the extent of fifteen or twenty minutes. I will immediately proceed to put the cut motions to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

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"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the order paper in respect of Demands Nos. 61, 62 and 121 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of the corresponding heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof."

The motion was adopted.

[As directed by Mr. Deputy-Speaker the motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the House are reproduced below.—Ed. of P. P.]

DEMAND No. 61—MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,16,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

DEMAND No. 62—BROADCASTING

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,41,91,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

DEMAND No. 121—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON BROADCASTING

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 44,93,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Broadcasting'."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Law and Minority Affairs. Demand No. 55—Cabinet, has already been placed before the House on the 25th June. I will now place the other Demands before the House.

DEMAND No. 68—MINISTRY OF LAW

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 82,47,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Law'."

DEMAND No. 69—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated

Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

Election irregularities

Shri Madhao Reddi (Adilabad): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Law' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Irregularities and mal-practices in General Election with special reference to ballot box.

Shri S. S. More: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Law' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Immediate and complete separation of Judiciary from Executive.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Simplification of law substantive as well as adjective

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Revision of statutes to bring them into conformity with Constitution.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Law' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Law's delays with special reference to simplification of procedure to reduce arrears.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Representation for certain minorities in Legislatures

Shri Pocker Saheb (Malappuram): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Law' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Suitable building for Supreme Court.

Shri Pocker Saheb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: These cut motions are now before the House.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: May I make a suggestion, Sir? There is just one hour left and in view of the importance of the subject matter to be discussed we are agreed that the question hour may be suspended tomorrow and this debate may continue till 9-15 A.M., including the speech to be made by the hon. Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The previous Demands should have been closed at 11-30 A.M. But we are now starting these Demands at 12. There is only one hour left for this important subject. If Government have no objection, they may agree to the suggestion of the question hour being suspended tomorrow and the debate being carried on till 9-15 A.M.

Therefore, tomorrow the question hour will be suspended. This debate will be carried on till 9-15 and it will be completed tomorrow.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I had the shock of my life, as a man who has spent his life in law, when I was told that there was no debate last year on the Ministry of Law. What is the good of having a Ministry of Law if its administration is not put under the searchlight of parliamentary criticism and discussion?

This is a very peculiar situation I find. I want to draw the attention of the House to a paradoxical situation. We have got a Minister of Law and he has been given functions, but not those functions which really pertain to him. I have got in my hand a booklet published showing the subjects which have been allocated to various Ministries and Departments of the Government. You will be amazed to find that the appointment of the Judges of the Supreme Court of India, the Chief Justice of India or the appointment of other Judges of the Supreme Court or of the High Courts has got nothing to do with the Minister of Law. It is a very peculiar situation.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal Distt. cum Almora Distt.—South West cum Bareilly Distt. North): Not at all.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Very peculiar, I say with a full sense of responsi-

bility, that it should be placed under the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): Separation of Judiciary and the Executive.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: That was done in the old bureaucratic imperialist days when they wanted to keep the High Courts and the other courts under the domination of the bureaucrats.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: The same position is continuing, today.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The same position is continuing, but it should be ended. What is the good of having a Republican Constitution?

Dr. Katju: On a point of order, Sir. All appointments are made by the President.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The President should be asked that he should revise them. It is not in keeping with the Constitution, not in keeping with the spirit of the times, not in keeping with the demands of the people.

12 NOON

Now you just see that. The Law Minister is given an item 'Conduct of cases in the Supreme Court on behalf of the Central Government and the Governments of the States'. It is really doing more or less an attorney's work. That is not the duty of a Law Ministry.

Another paradoxical item is 'Enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court'. If the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is enlarged then that matter pertains to the Law Ministry. But look at the Ministry of Home Affairs. To it is assigned these subjects which, I maintain, should go to the Law Ministry. Fortunately today we have got a distinguished lawyer like Dr. Kafi as Home Minister. But you may have a plucked B.A. as Home Minister. You may have an undergraduate; you may have a plucked matriculate as Minister of Home Affairs tomorrow or the day after. How can you possibly give him charge of this item?

Another item which is given to the Ministry of Home Affairs is 'Constitution and organisation of the Supreme Court'. Just imagine: the Minister of Law, who was one of the ornaments of the Calcutta Bar and was a Judge of great reputation, coming from the High Court to which I had the honour to belong, is not trusted as Law Minister of India with the constitution and organisation of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it said anywhere in the Constitution that the Minister of Law must be a lawyer?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Sir, I used an expression the other day in this Parliament—lawless law—and the hon. Home Minister objected to that. I have never known of a lawless Law Minister of India. I hope that contingency will never happen.

Then the next item is given again to the Home Minister. What is that? "Constitution and organisation of the High Courts." That should certainly go to the Law Minister, if you really want him to function properly.

Another item is "Extension of the jurisdiction of a High Court having its principal seat in any State to any area outside that State." There are other items also: It is a very anomalous position and I do not think the Home Minister will be eager to stick to these subjects. In all fairness these should be handed over, these portfolios or these subjects should be handed over, to the Law Minister.

Shri B. Das: The Constitution should be amended for that.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Of course, not. Mr. Das says that the Constitution should be amended. I say: nothing of the kind. The Constitution lays down the Directive Principles that there should be separation between the executive and the judiciary. Why do you allow the judiciary to function under an executive head, when you have got a Law Minister? You read Lord Howart's book on *The New Democracy*. He says that the Minister of Justice should be there and the Minister of Justice should really function and he should be given a chance of appointing all the Judges and that they should be under his control. I also maintain that the Law Minister should be really the Minister of Justice and he should be given these important portfolios, or these important subjects.

There are also other matters which I want to point out. If you look at the list in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, you will find under List No. II, item No. 65: 'Jurisdiction and powers of all courts except the Supreme Court, with respect to any of the matters in this list'. That should also go to him. Also items Nos. 44, 26 and 46 in List No. III, that is the Concurrent list, should be allotted to him.

Apart from this more or less technical aspect of the matter, my grievance is this. Now, article 13 of the Constitution says that anything which is repugnant to the Fundamental Rights Chapter is automatically void. You know the language which we have

laid down in the Constitution, and it is no use saying that the lawyers are responsible for going to courts of law and making trouble there and holding up legislation. Article 13 says:

"All laws in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of this Constitution, in so far as they are in consistent with the provisions of this Part."—the Fundamental Rights Part—"shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void."

Immediately you prescribe article 13, you declare that certain existing statutes are no longer operative, and I maintain it was the duty of this Government, and to some extent the duty of this House, immediately to appoint a Law Revision Committee to bring our existing laws in conformity with the Constitution. When I had the privilege to go to the Punjab High Court to argue an important case, where the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Khosla decided that section 124A of the Indian Penal Code dealing with sedition was *ultra vires*. I was approached and asked "This is a very difficult situation; what should be done?" And I gave my considered opinion that there ought to be a periodical Law Revision Committee. I think that immediately the Law Minister should stand up in Parliament and declare that there should be some agency for the purpose of redrafting the statutes and making suitable amendments therein so as to bring them in conformity with the Constitution. It is not right, it is not fair, it is not proper that we should take the statutes to the Supreme Court or to the High Courts and they should be declared *ultra vires*, one after the other. It is much better that we should do our duty, that our Government should do its duty and bring the statutes into conformity with the Fundamental Rights of the Constitution. You know what this Chapter is. It restricts the legislative competence of Parliament. It abridges the legislative authority of the different Legislatures. Not only that. It pronounces, it adjudges by its own power, that certain statutes are void and the courts have nothing to do with respect to them except to do their duty so far as article 13 is concerned by pronouncing them *ultra vires*.

There is another thing. You know there are statutes which have become obsolete. The Indian Contract Act, the Specific Relief Act and other Acts have been to a large extent out of date. I know that Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, when he was Law Member,

appointed a Special Officer for the purpose of redrafting the Indian Contract Act. I do not know where that draft prepared by him is. Possibly it is lying in some pigeon-hole in the Secretariat. But the Law Minister should apply his mind to these statutes and make them up-to-date. For it is not proper that India should still be governed by the statutes framed by Lord Romilly or Lord Cairns, all distinguished men, but which are completely out of date with the progress of jurisprudence in other countries. The law of fraud, the law of frustration, the law of quasi-contract, all these have been completely renovated according to the modern principles of jurisprudence. But we are still governed by the laws of 1872 or 1877. They should be changed, and changed immediately. That would lead to better administration of justice in this country.

One other thing I want to say. My hon. friend Mr. C. C. Biswas has been appointed as Minister in charge of Minority Affairs. The conception is not very clear as to what is meant by that and what are his functions. One Sikh gentleman was asking me "Is he the Minister in charge of the affairs of the Sikh community?" A Christian gentleman was asking me a similar question. I think he was appointed as a Minister under what is known as the Delhi Pact. The Delhi Pact provided that two Ministers shall be appointed to look after the interests of the minorities in East Bengal and West Bengal. I take it that Mr. Biswas is still functioning as Minister for Minority Affairs in that sense. If he stands up in this House and says that the Pact is finished, it is dead and that it is sunk fathoms deep, then it is another matter. But during the last two years that he has been functioning in this capacity, so far as I know, Parliament has never been given a report of what work has been done. How far the objective has been achieved, we ought to know. We know that our Government has been doing its best to implement it. But what has been the reciprocal attitude on the other side? The wording of the Pact is:

"The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality."

That objective has completely been negated so far as East Pakistan is concerned. There are some distressing pieces of news, and I would ask the hon. Minister to give this House some information. Dr. Mookerjee the other day said that the great leader of East Bengal, Shri Satin Sen, is in jail. And Shri Manoranjan Dhar, who is a Member of the Minority Commission appointed under this very Delhi Pact, is still in jail. He was Secretary of the Congress Assembly Party. Apart from him, Shri Gobinda Banerjee, who was the Congress Assembly Party's Chief Whip, is also in jail. We want to know if this hon. Minister has taken any steps, if the Delhi Pact is still alive—even dormant alive—and what chance there is of these gentlemen being released. We know there has been a terrible persecution of the minority community in East Bengal when the language controversy was raised. It is absolutely clear that the Pakistan Government was doing its best to persecute and torture the Hindus, although they had nothing to do with that movement. It was a spontaneous and organic movement started by the Muslim community. But you know very important Hindu leaders have been arrested. I am told—I do not know whether the Minister knows it—that a secret circular was issued by the Pakistan Government to this effect: whenever Muslims are arrested over the language problem, try to arrest an equal number of Hindus. And I understand that that secret circular has been given effect to.

The other thing is that from the border areas Hindus have been driven out and are still being driven out. This Parliament had been expressing its great concern over the Tribal people. I hope the Minister knows that near the Garo Hills thousands of Hajongs and Garos have been driven out of the border region and Pakistan forces are very active there. We want to know if any steps have been taken.

And the last thing I want to ask the hon. Minister is about the large number of reports of cases of abduction and molestation of the women-folk belonging to the minority community. The tactics are to take them to the courts and make them swear affidavits that they have voluntarily embraced another religion. We know what is the nature of these affidavits and how far they are genuine.

Can the Minister give us any assurance as to whether there is any remedy? Can he tell us what steps he has taken or what steps anybody

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on his behalf has taken and whether there is any chance for the redemption of these women and these people? I want that a detailed report should be presented to Parliament of the work that was done by him as a Minority Minister under this Delhi Pact.

Shri Datar (Belgaum North): I agree with Mr. Chatterjee that so far as the present laws are concerned, they require amendments in certain particulars. Before I deal with the modification of the present law, I should like to make a reference to a point which has been just touched by him, namely, that the present allocation of subjects so far as law and justice are concerned, is not quite correct. The Home Department under the British Government had under it all possible subjects. This was with a view to have that Department as the most important Department of all departments. That is why we find in this Department subjects which are of an executive character as also subjects which are legal and of a judicial character. Unfortunately the same allocation is being followed even now. I am quite positive that if the attention of the Government is drawn to this we shall have done something so far as making the Home Ministry a completely executive Department that it ought to be is concerned.

We find from a book published by the Parliament Secretariat that the topics dealing with laws are divided into a number of subjects as given in the schedules, and they are divided and sub-divided. I consider that all these subjects ought to be looked after by the Ministry of Law.

My further submission is that it ought not to be merely the Ministry of Law, but the Ministry of Justice and to that Ministry should be added the subjects coming under items Nos. 25, 26, 27, 54, 58, 52 and 53. I submit that the subjects which have been mentioned in the book on allocation are really subjects which deal with law. It would be surprising to many Members in this House that the Criminal Procedure as also the penal law are subjects which are allocated to the Home Ministry. These are entirely matters of law and the amendments as well as the administration of these subjects ought to be within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Law and the Ministry of Justice.

We find that so far as the powers of the High Courts are concerned, there are strange anomalies. Certain subjects have been handed over to the

Ministry of Law and in important subjects such as the composition of the personnel of the judiciary, so far as the High Courts, the Supreme Court and other courts are concerned, there has again been a division and the important parts of this jurisdiction have been given over to the Ministry of Home Affairs and only minor subjects have been given to the Ministry of Law.

We find that there was agitation long ago that there ought to be a separation of the judiciary from the executive. One aspect of this non-separation has been the combination of a number of subjects, legal, judicial and executive in the Home Ministry. One of the important points that have been accepted in the Constitution is that there ought to be a complete separation of the judiciary from the executive. If that principle is to be given effect to, then we ought to have a Home Ministry which deals only with executive subjects and which does not deal either with legal subjects or with subjects which relate to the administration of justice. Therefore, I would submit to this House that there ought to be a re-allocation and in that, all subjects dealing with law and also the administration of justice should be transferred absolutely and completely to the Ministry of Law and it should also be called the Ministry of Justice.

I would then deal with the number of laws which require modification. We have for example, the Civil procedure Code. That Code, as it is at present, requires amendment. It was consolidated in 1908 and since then, it has not been amended at all except in small matters. The Code of Criminal Procedure also was amended in 1923 and it requires certain very important amendments. The law of Evidence also requires amendments in the light of the changed conditions now. So far as the Code of Civil Procedure and the law of Evidence are concerned, they require an immediate change. We have lived 100 years during which we have got these two laws. The conditions have improved to a large extent. The technical rules of Evidence need to be amended and there are certain provisions of the Civil Procedure Code which ought to be scrapped immediately.

Here I would make a reference, for example, to the jurisdiction given to the Collectors in respect of the partition of immovable property as also in respect of the execution of the decrees. Most of the members here,

especially those who are lawyers would find that the transfer of jurisdiction in respect of execution proceedings to the Collector is a matter which delays the proceedings for years together. Even after a litigant or a suitor obtains a decree, when for execution it goes to the Collector, it lies there for years together and there are instances where a decree has not been executed for a period of 15 years. There is absolutely no reason why a Collector should possess such execution powers. This work can be done more competently by the Civil Courts. Matters such as partition of lands paying land revenue can also be managed very efficiently by the civil courts. Therefore, the Code of Civil Procedure should be amended immediately and the powers needlessly given to the Collector who is a revenue officer first and last, should be withdrawn and the complete work of execution of civil courts' decrees as also the partition of lands ought to be only with the Civil Courts. When you come to the Criminal Procedure Code, here we find.....

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amravati East): Is not the power of transferring execution to Collectors exercised by the State Government?

Shri Datar: We find that we have got certain 'archaic' rules. They require certain changes. Those who come from the villages find that there are a number of cases where the persons concerned are actually guilty but unfortunately on account of the rules of evidence as also on account of certain presumptions of law which we have derived from the British Jurisprudence, they are allowed to go scot-free. In other words, they are acquitted on technical grounds. We know that in such cases they do not deserve an acquittal. This has a great demoralizing effect on the villagers. I find in many villages the actual offenders have not been convicted and in this way the whole atmosphere in the village is entirely demoralized.

Then we have also to make some provision for a proper and correct investigation of offences. For that purpose also the Code of Criminal Procedure should be immediately amended. What happens at present is that investigation is done by officers who do not know the correct procedure in regard to law and legal matters. It may interest Members of this House to know that in U.S.A. they have got a system by which whenever there is any case the preliminary investigation is carried on under the supervision of an officer known as

the Director of Prosecutions. He is an officer who knows law, who has been trained properly in law and he has a staff which deals with law and legal procedure. He directs prosecutions only in those cases where there is proper and legal evidence. When we go to the Criminal Courts or the Sessions courts, we find that in a large number of cases there has been an acquittal solely on account of the fact that the investigation was highly defective. Now the investigation is in charge of police officers who know only a smattering of law; they do not know the underlying principles of law; they do not know how to marshal evidence and the result is that on account of the way in which investigations are carried on, in a number of important cases which come before the Sessions court, it is found that all the evidence has been entirely spoilt and hence the judge has to reluctantly acquit the accused. This is one of the main matters in which the Code of Criminal Procedure has to be amended in important particulars.

There are also other laws, like the Laws of Transfer and Registration which require amendment. I agree with Mr. Chatterjee that there ought to be a Law Revision Committee because these are laws which deal with normal times. We are almost coming to normal conditions and therefore it is high time that the Ministry of Justice and Law took up the question of amending the laws and consolidating them to suit the present conditions.

I would make a reference to certain other points. We have got, for example, the Hindu Code Bill. So far as the Hindu Code Bill is concerned, it has a history of its own and it has excited the greatest controversy. All the same, so far as the underlying principles of the Hindu Code Bill are concerned, it is high time that the Ministry of Law undertook a proper revision of the Hindu Code Bill. We do require a Hindu Code Bill. It is high time that we have certain enlarged rights given to women. It is also necessary that certain changes have to be made in the present Hindu Law so that we shall know at a particular time what exactly is the position so far as the Hindu Law is concerned. I would like to mention an anomaly. On the subject of adoption, we have entirely divergent and incompatible views accepted by the various High Courts in India. In Bombay, for example, a particular marriage under the Hindu Law may be held valid. In Madras, if you cross the frontiers, you have a judgment of the Madras High Court, where on the same original

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texts, it has held that the marriage is absolutely invalid. There are various other matters also. They may be profitable to the lawyers; but ultimately so far as the litigating public is concerned, they are greatly inconvenienced. Therefore, we ought to have what can be called a uniform Hindu Code. In this connection, I would like to say that we may have a Hindu Code for the time being. But, my own personal view is that in view of the secular nature of our Constitution we should ultimately have a Civil Code for all citizens.

Pandit L. K. Maitra (Nabadwip): Revision of the Hindu Code or a short-cut to marriage, what do you want?

Shri Datar: I only mentioned marriage as an instance, to show how the position is absolutely chaotic. I desire that so far as the codification of the Hindu Law is concerned, it ought to be a Central Act and there ought to be only one Act, and not a number of provincial or State Acts. In our enthusiasm for certain reforms, we have got certain Acts in Bombay, Madras and elsewhere, absolutely incompatible and inconsistent with each other. Therefore, in respect of Hindu law, the matter ought to be undertaken by the Central Government only and not dealt with piecemeal by the State Governments.

We desire that legislation in regard to lawyers' position and lawyers' obligations, and their duties, ought to be made by the Central Government. We have got various Acts and there has been piecemeal legislation. In Bombay, we have got what is known as the Bombay Pleaders Act; in other places we have got different Acts. Lawyers are one as a class; there ought to be a unification of all lawyers. Lawyers should be treated under a common Act passed by this legislature. I desire there ought to be a uniform law.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I thought the hon. Member was concluding and that that was his last sentence.

Shri Datar: Only one word I have to say in regard to the High Courts. It is extremely good that all these High Courts are carrying on excellent work. In the Constitution a provision has been made for the transfer of High Court Judges from one High Court to another. This is a very salutary provision and it is one of the most important provisions that has been inserted with a view to have

fresh life in the High Court. Otherwise, if a young man is appointed a Judge of a High Court, say, at the age of 42, he would continue on the Bench for 18 long years and during those 18 long years, he might have developed certain views and certain bias. Therefore, it is always desirable, just as in the lower judiciary we have transfer of district judges from one district to another, that we should in proper cases transfer High Court Judges from one High Court to another.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी तुरत ही ऐन० सी० चटर्जी साहब ने भाषण देते हुए कहा कि गतवर्ष ला विभाग पर बहस नहीं हुई। इस के लिये उन को चोट लगी। मैं उन से कहे देता हूँ और उन्हें सावधान किये देता हूँ चूँकि वह नये सदस्य हैं इसलिये उन को चोट लगती है लेकिन हम लोग तो पुराने सदस्य हैं। सरकार की ओर से जितने काम हो रहे हैं उन से लोगों को चोट पर चोट पड़ चुकी है इसलिये अभ्यस्त हो गये हैं। चटर्जी साहब को मालूम होना चाहिये कि अगर वह न्याय चाहते हैं तो उन को यहां से तुरत चला जाना चाहिये। यहां उन के रहने की जरूरत नहीं है। यहां न तो हाई कोर्ट है और न सुप्रीम कोर्ट है, यहां तो नेहरू कोर्ट है या चाहे जो कुछ कहिये। यहां अन्याय होगा न्याय का नाम नहीं है। चाहे उन को चोट लगे या न लगे। आप को फ्रंसला कर लेना चाहिये कि आप को यहां रहना है या नहीं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से इतना कहे देता हूँ कि लोगों को देखना चाहिये कि ला विभाग के लिये, उस पर बहस करने के लिये और उस पर विचार करने के लिये कितना समय दिया गया है। एक घंटा ठीक है। इस से स्पष्ट है कि जो हमारी सरकार कहलाती है उस को या तो न्याय से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है और अगर है तो

ऐसा कि उस की उस को कोई परवाह नहीं है । हमारे गृह मंत्री काटजू साहब खड़े होकर बहस कर देंगे । वह तो वकील हैं । वकील की तरह से बहस कर देंगे ।

डा० काटजू : इसके क्या मानी ?

I strongly object to this. I am not a lawyer here.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: You are a lawyer. You cannot forget that.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बहुत ठीक है । यहां लायर (lawyer) नहीं हैं लेकिन बहस तो लायर की ही तरह करते हैं ।

डा० काटजू : आप क्या कर रहे हैं ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बात यह है कि वहां फ्रीस ले कर बहस करते थे यहां तलब ले कर बहस करते हैं । मुझे तो बड़ी खुशी होती अगर ऐसे ऐसे लायर और ऐसे कानूनवां जिन्होंने अपनी सारी जिन्दगी न्याय के लिये काम किया है आज यहां आ कर भी न्याय के लिये बोलते और देश के हित के लिये बोलते तो कितना अच्छा होता । लेकिन सो तो नहीं है । उन को तो पुरानी लत है फ्रीस लेकर बहस करने की । इसी तरह से यहां तलब ले कर । चाहे सरकार भला करे या बुरा सरकार की तरफ से बहस कर देते हैं ।

डा० काटजू : इस में आप ने नई बात क्या बताई ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि न्याय विभाग के लिये केवल एक घंटे

का समय रहे इस से बुरा काम और क्या हो सकता है । हमारे चर्चर्ची साहब कहते हैं कि इस पर बहस होनी चाहिये, इस पर विचार होना चाहिये । तो इस सरकार के जीवन काल में तो आप को यह चीजें मिलने वाली नहीं हैं । अगर कभी हमारे देश में ऐसा समय आयेगा कि जब हमारी न्यायप्रिय सरकार होगी तो उस समय जितने कार्य होंगे सभी में न्याय का सब से पहले स्थान होगा और अमुक अमुक पोर्टफोलियो (portfolio) अमुक अमुक व्यक्ति को दिया जायगा और जो होना है वह होगा ।

श्री कीरोज गांधी : अब राम राज्य होने वाला है ।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : अभी उस की बात कहां कर रहे हैं ? अभी तो यहां रावण राज्य की बात हो रही है । अंग्रेजों के काल में हम लोग राम राज्य की बात करते थे । उसी काल में महात्मा जो कहते थे कि हम को तो राम राज्य चाहिये और वह कहा करते थे कि उस समय जो सरकार थी वह शैतानी सरकार थी । तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अब पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उस सरकार में और इस सरकार में क्या अन्तर है । जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ और मैं भी थोड़ा बहुत समझता हूँ, मैं ने अपना सारा जीवन देश सेवा में दिया है, उस सरकार में और इस सरकार में कोई अन्तर नहीं है । जब वह सरकार शैतानी सरकार कहलाती थी तो इस सरकार का तो उस से भी कोई बुरा नाम होना चाहिये । गृह मंत्री महोदय आप इस बात को याद रखेंगे । आज जो मैं बोलता हूँ वह दुःख से बोलता हूँ । यह बोलने में मुझे आनन्द नहीं मालूम होता है । रामायण में लिखा है :

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

काह सुनाय विधि काह सुनावा,
काह दिखाय विधि काह दिखावा ।

उसी तरह से हम देखते हैं। हमारे हृदय में क्या उम्मीद थी कि यह लोग आकर क्या करेंगे और क्या कर रहे हैं। सभापति महोदय, बात यह है कि जो यहां एक एक काम हो रहा है उस में हमारे गृह मंत्री जी का भी हाथ होता है। इन के हाथ में क्या है ? यह दलबन्दी की सरकार है। जिस ने दल को मदद दी उस को ओहदा दे दिया। जिस को देश ने वोट नहीं दिया उस को सरकार ने डिप्टी गवर्नर बना दिया। अंग्रेजी राज्यकाल में हमारे सूबे में एक न्योरा नाम की बस्ती थी। अभी भी है। उस बस्ती की उस जमाने में बहुत चलती थी।

उस वरती में एक लड़का एक मौलवी के यहां पढ़ता था। मौलवी जी ने लड़के को एक दिन एक तमाचा मारा और लड़का रोता हुआ घर गया। मां उधर से आती है और क्या कहती है "मौलवी साहब, मौलवी साहब, ऐसा काम न करें, लड़के को न मारें। लड़का नहीं पढ़ेगा तो कम से कम डिप्टी मैजिस्ट्रेट (Deputy Magistrate) तो होगा"। नहीं पढ़ेगा तब डिप्टी मैजिस्ट्रेट होगा। उसी तरह हमारे मंत्रियों के बारे में भी है। लोग उन को वोट दें या न दें, कोई परवाह नहीं, नेहरू जी खुश हैं तो गवर्नरी या डिप्टी गवर्नरी तो रखी हुई है ही।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How does it relate to this Ministry?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति महोदय, यही सरकार का न्याय है।

डा० काटजू : न्याय की तस्वीर है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : यही न्याय कर रहे हैं और उसी को देख रहे हैं और लोगों को चोट लग रही है।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : On a point of order, Sir, उपाध्यक्ष जी, माननीय सदस्य जो भाषण दे रहे हैं वह इस विषय से बिल्कुल परे हैं जिस पर कि इस समय आपके सामने चर्चा हो रही है और इसका कोई सम्बन्ध उस विषय से नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is only repeating what I have already said. Now, he will come back.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति महोदय, विधान का नियम है, सारी दुनिया का नियम है कि न्याय विभाग को जहां तक हो सके स्वतन्त्र रखा जाय और मेरी तो यह राय है कि किसी देश में और खास कर इस देश में न्याय विभाग की सब से प्रधानता होनी चाहिये लेकिन दुख तो यह है कि जैसा कि अभी कहा गया चाहे सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज हो चाहे हाई कोर्ट का जज हो, सब को गृह मंत्री महोदय बहाल करेंगे। यों तो प्रेसिडेंट (President) करते हैं लेकिन इस में कोई ज्यादा फर्क की बात नहीं है। तो अब इस का क्या मतलब कि हाई कोर्ट की जजशिप (judgeship) से या और जगह से रिटायर (retire) कर गये, पेशेन मिल गई लेकिन ऐसे-ऐसे व्यक्तियों को भी गवर्नर बनाया जाता है। यह कैसी बात है ? इस बात को किसी भी हालत में बर्दाश्त नहीं करना चाहिये और मैं कहता हूँ कि, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक जमाने में मैं ने यहीं पर एक बार ऐसा हुआ कि किसी एक हाई कोर्ट में कुछ फ़ैसला हुआ था जिस

को यह सरकार पसन्द नहीं करती थी तो एक मंत्री ने यहाँ पर कहा था कि जूडीशियल और एक्जीक्यूटिव डिपार्टमेंट से युद्ध हो रहा है यानी चूँकि जूडीशियल डिपार्टमेंट (Judicial Department) ने एक्जीक्यूटिव के मुताबिक काम नहीं किया इसलिये युद्ध हो रहा है। और मैं समझता हूँ कि उसी युद्ध को मिटाने के लिये, मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है, और जूडीशियल डिपार्टमेंट को भ्रष्ट करने के लिये, जूडीशियल डिपार्टमेंट के लोगों को गवर्नर बनाया जाता है। यह कभी नहीं होना चाहिये बल्कि जो हुआ है उसे रद्द कर देना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बातें तो बहुत कहनी हैं लेकिन जैसा कि हो रहा है कि एक एक विभाग की बहस एक एक घंटे में खत्म हो, और न्याय विभाग जिस की कि इतनी जरूरत है उस की भी बहस एक एक घंटे में हो और हम लोगों को १५ मिनट टाइम मिले, यह सब अन्याय ही तो है और है क्या ?

अब जरा माइनोरिटी (minority) की बात को तो लीजिये, उस के बारे में मैं क्या कहूँ। इसके बारे में तो जरा सा भी सोचने पर मुझे दुख मालूम होता है। कभी तो आयांगर साहब को सुनते हैं, कभी और मंत्री लोग यहाँ आ कर सीधे सीधे बोल देते हैं। इस पार्लियामेंट में बोल देते हैं कि हम लोग क्या करें, पाकिस्तान तो कोई बात सुनता ही नहीं। जितना एग्रीमेंट (agreement) होता है वह उस एग्रीमेंट के मुताबिक कोई काम करता ही नहीं। इन लोगों को कहने में कुछ लज्जा मालूम होनी चाहिये। यह कैसे कहते हैं कि नहीं सुनता, नहीं सुनता, नहीं सुनता। अरे नहीं सुनता तो और मत करो। जैसी कि कल बात हो रही थी, मैं नहीं चाहता

कि पाकिस्तान से युद्ध हो, मैं नहीं चाहता कि पाकिस्तान से झगड़ा हो, पाकिस्तान वाले भी हमारे भाई थे, साथ साथ रहते थे, लड़ते थे लेकिन जिस किसी के अक्ल हो उस को तो यह बात याद रहनी चाहिये कि यह जीवन तो युद्ध का है, और जो युद्ध के लिये तैयार नहीं है उसे दुनिया में जीने का अविकार नहीं है। इतनी अक्ल तो सरकार को हीनी चाहिये। पाकिस्तान से और हिन्दुस्तान से न जाने कितने एग्रीमेंट हुए और कहा जाता है, लोगों को कहने में भी संकोच और डर नहीं लगता है, लज्जा नहीं लगती है, कि पाकिस्तान मानता ही नहीं, हम क्या करें। मैं कहता हूँ कि भाई कम से कम इतना तो करो कि जब १, २, ३, ४ या १०, २० एग्रीमेंट हो गये और वह बात मानता नहीं तो इतनी मानवता तो होनी चाहिये कि उससे एग्रीमेंट न करो, उस से बात न करो। इतना तो होना चाहिये, सो नहीं, निलज्ज की तरह लोग बैठते हैं, करांची में या दिल्ली में और कहते हैं कि एग्रीमेंट कर रहे हैं।

Shri Radhelal Vyas: The little time that has been allotted for discussion on these grants is being taken away in this way. He can say something on the demand under discussion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members will remember that this Demand relates both to law and Minorities.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति महोदय, उन लोगों को और कुछ काम तो है नहीं, उन लोगों को तो सिर्फ वोट दे देना है, इसलिये उनको समझने की क्या जरूरत है।

एक बात में अपने मित्र प्रधान मंत्री नेहरू जी से कहूँगा कि हमारे देश में एक

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

एक व्यक्ति की इज्जत और रक्षा के लिये बड़े बड़े संग्राम हुये हैं। पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से बहुत से लोग तो यहां आ कर मरे मराये बस गये लेकिन अभी कितने लाख पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में हैं और वे लोग आप की तरफ़ निगाह लगाये बैठे हैं, आप की तरफ़ देखते हैं, आप की बात सोचते हैं और आप से रक्षा की आशा करते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ: नेहरू जी से कहता हूँ कि आप का क्या धर्म है जो आप के शरणागत हो, जो आप की शरण में आना चाहता हो, जो आप की तरफ़ रात दिन रक्षा के लिये देखते हो उसे आप जल्लादों के हाथ में छोड़ दें कि जिस तरह से उन के साथ बर्ताव किया जा रहा है किया जाय। क्या यह धर्म है? यह मामूली बात नहीं है। एक आदमी नहीं लाखों की तादाद में लोग दुखी हैं, हमारी सरकार की तरफ़ ताक रहे हैं।

एक बात और कह कर मैं खत्म करूंगा। कई बार बात होती है तो हमारे नेहरू जी उठते हैं और कहते हैं कि जो भी हो, "Pakistan has come to stay."

बड़ी खुशी की बात है, पंडित जो कहते ही हैं। और मैं भी आशीर्वाद देता हूँ कि "पाकिस्तान जिन्दावाद"। मैं नेहरू जी से जो कि उनका बड़े समर्थक बन रहे हैं कह देता हूँ और साथ ही साथ उन लोगों से भी कह देता हूँ जो कि पाकिस्तान के समर्थक हैं कि जब तक पाकिस्तान के लोग हमारे लोगों को सताते रहेंगे तब तक पाकिस्तान का सिंहासन डांडोल ही रहेगा। उन को न्याय पर आना ही पड़ेगा और सी बुनियाद पर वह बना है।

अभी कुछ दिन हुए यहां पर मेरे मित्र अलग राय शास्त्री जी ने कहा था, "जो लोग

वहां से आये हैं उन को वहीं भेज कर बसाया जाय"। बात तो सही है। मगर जो लोग यहां पर भाग कर आये हैं अगर उन को वहां पर भेजा जाय तो क्या वह सुरक्षित रह सकेंगे? विशेषकर इस सरकार की बदौलत सुरक्षित रह सकेंगे जो कि नपुंसक हो गई है? वह करना चाहती तो बहुत कर सकती है मगर वह कर नहीं सकती है। उम्मीद तो यह होनी चाहिये कि जो हमारे लोग वहां पर रह गये हैं उन को हर प्रकार से रक्षा की जाय और उन को हर प्रकार का सुख पहुंचाया जाय।

मुझे अधिक नहीं कहना है। सिर्फ़ सरकार से यह कहना है कि जो हमारे लोग पूर्वी बंगाल में हैं उन को रक्षा की जानी चाहिये और उन को रक्षा करना हमारा धर्म है। अगर हम उन की रक्षा नहीं करते तो हमारा धर्म भी जाता है।

(English translation of the above speech)

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, while speaking in the House Shri N. C. Chatterjee just now complained that there was no debate on the "Law Department" last year; and that it hurt him. I would tell him, rather I would caution him that it hurt him because he was a new Member. But with us, who belong to the old lot, the case is altogether different. All the things done by the Government hurt us and give us shock after shock so much so that we have been accustomed to these shocks now. Shri Chatterjee should know if he at all wants justice, it would be better for him to leave this House as soon as possible. His presence is not needed. There is neither any High Court here nor any Supreme Court; it is only the Nehru Court that counts here. There is no hope of justice here, though injustices would invariably take place; no matter whether it hurts him or not. He should decide once for all whether he is going to continue here under this state of affairs or not.

Sir, I submit that all of us should take note of it as to how much time

has been allotted for discussion on the Law Department. It is only one hour. It shows that law is no concern of our Government or that they have no regard for it. Our hon. Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Katju, would stand up and argue. He is a lawyer and would argue as a lawyer.

Dr. Katju: What does he mean by that? I strongly object to this. I am not a lawyer here.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: You are a lawyer, you cannot forget that.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Quite so. He is not a lawyer here but he argues like a lawyer.

Dr. Katju: But what is he saying?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: The only difference is that there he used to take fees while here he takes only a salary. It would have been a matter of pleasure to me if lawyers of his calibre, who have dedicated the whole of their lives for the sake of justice, had been here to raise their voice for the sake of justice and for the good of the country. It would have been excellent. But it is not so. He still has his old habit of arguing cases on payment. Similarly here too he holds brief for the Government, no matter whether they do right or wrong.

Dr. Katju: You have not revealed anything new by saying these words.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, my submission is, could there be any greater wrong than allotting only one single hour for discussion on the whole of the Law Department. Shri Chatterji says that discussions should take place on this subject. I would like to tell him that so long as this Government exists he cannot have all these things. If ever such a time comes when a just Government would come into existence, justice will have the first and foremost place in all the things done. Particular departments would be given to particular persons and things would be done in a set manner.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Now there is going to be *Ram Rajya*.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Why do you talk of those things at present? It is only *Ravan-Rajya* as yet. We used to talk of *Ram Rajya* during the British regime. It was during those days that Gandhiji used to tell us that

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we wanted *Ram Rajya*. Further, he used to tell us that the Government of the day was a Satanic Government. Sir, I ask what is the difference between this Government and that Satanic Government? I have dedicated the whole of my life to the service of the country and, so far as I understand, and I do understand something, there is no difference between this Government and the Government of the past. When that Government was called the Satanic Government this Government should be called by some name which would be worse than that. The hon. Home Minister may please note these words. Whatever I speak today is out of anguish. I do not feel happy in speaking those words. It is written in the *Ramayana*: "*Kah Sunay Vidhi Kaha Sunava, Kah dikhey Vidhi Kaha dikhava*" i.e. what good things we hoped to hear, what fine sights we hoped to see; but what bad news and pitiable sights we had to come across. In the same manner we see things here also. What were our hopes about these people and what have they been actually doing? Sir, our hon. Minister of Home Affairs has a hand in all the affairs that are being conducted here. But what lies in his power hands? It is a party Government. Anybody who supports the party gets a high post. Persons defeated at polls have been made Lieutenant Governors. There was a town Neora in our province during the British regime. It is still there. This locality was in the good books of the administration in those days. There was a boy in that locality who was receiving education from the local Maulvi. One day the Maulvi Sahib gave a slap on his face and the boy went home weeping. This agitated his mother. She came and asked the poor maulvi not to chastise her son as he was destined to be at least a Deputy Magistrate, no matter whether or not he received any education. Same is the case with our Ministers too. If only Shri Nehru is pleased with them, Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship is reserved for them no matter if they succeed at the polls or not.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How does it relate to this Ministry?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, this is the justice of the Government.

Dr. Katju: This is justice incarnate.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: People are here to see this sort of justice being done by the Government.

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member is not at all speaking on the subject which is under discussion at present. It has no relevance whatsoever to the main subject.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is only repeating what I have already said. Now, he will come back.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, it is a constitutional principle which is followed throughout the world, that judiciary should be kept independent of the control of the executive. I am of the opinion that the department of justice should stand above the general administrative machinery in all the countries and more so in our country. But it is a sad commentary on the whole affair when it is said that the Minister of Home Affairs would appoint the judges whether they are for the High Courts or for the Supreme Court. It is true that, formally, they would be appointed by the President, but that does not make much difference. How is it that retired judges of High Courts, who are given pensions etc. should also be made Governors? What a strange thing it is! Such a thing should never be tolerated. Sir, I remember there was an occasion when an hon. Minister in connection with a case in which a particular High Court gave verdict against the Government said in this very House that the judiciary and the executive were at war with each other. And Sir, I feel that in order to avoid that war and in order to corrupt the judiciary, persons from the judicial department are being appointed as Governors now. Such a thing should never happen and if there has been any such appointment it should be annulled.

Sir, I had to say a lot but as we see, only one hour has been set apart for each department. We are directed that discussions on the Law Department, which is obviously an important department, should finish within one hour and accordingly we have been given only fifteen minutes' time. Sir, if this is not injustice what else shall we call it?

Now, take the question of minorities. What shall I say about it? It pains me when I just try to think over it. Sometimes it is Shri Ayyangar who replies to the debate on this subject and sometimes it is some other Minister. They express their helplessness before us in the Parliament and say that Pakistan does not pay any heed to their requests and does not honour the agreements already made. I say they should feel ashamed of telling us all these things. How can it be that

they do not listen? If they do not listen, please do not make any fresh agreements with them. As was said here yesterday, I am one of those who do not want to be at war with Pakistan, who do not want to have any differences with them. Till recently they were our brethren and we used to live together. There is no doubt that there were quarrels and differences as well; but a sensible man should know that life itself is a struggle and a person who is not prepared for struggle and strife has no right to live in this world. The Government ought to have this much sense at least. God knows how many agreements have been arrived at between India and Pakistan. We are told that Pakistan does not listen to sense and that they are helpless. My goodness! They do not feel any hesitation, any fear or any shame in telling us that. I say, at least do this much. Do not make any fresh agreements with them if they do not honour all the past agreements. We must have at least this much of sense. This much at least we should do. It is no use meeting shamelessly in Karachi or in Delhi and afterwards say that we are making agreements

Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain): The little time that has been allotted for discussion on these grants is being taken away in this way. He can say something on the demand under discussion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Member will remember that this demand relates both to Law and Minorities.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, they have no work to do, but only to vote. Then, why should they try to understand things?

One thing, which I would like to submit to my hon. friend, the Prime Minister, is that History has seen wars on issues which involved the honour of individuals. People from West Pakistan have been rehabilitated somehow, but there are lakhs of them still in East Pakistan who are looking towards you for help, who are thinking of you and expecting protection from you. Is it justice that persons who seek refuge with you and who look day in and day out towards you for protection, should be left to the mercy of those cruel barbarians? There is not one but there are lakhs of people who are suffering today and who look towards this Government for their protection.

One thing more and I finish. Whenever there is any mention of Pakistan, Pandit Nehru rises and says that, in any case, "Pakistan has come to

stay". It is good that Panditji says like that, I too give my blessings and say "Pakistan Zindabad". (Long live Pakistan). I would like to tell Pandit Nehru, who is their supporter, and also to all others, who support Pakistan, that so long as our people continue to be harassed there, Pakistan would at least be a shaky State. It will have to come to the path of justice on which it has been founded.

A few days back my friend Shri Algu Rai Shastri had suggested that the displaced persons should be rehabilitated in their original homes. This is a good suggestion but the question is that if the displaced persons were to be sent back, would they be safe there with the support of this emasculated Government? They could do many a thing if they wanted to, but they have no courage. Let us hope that our people living there would be protected in every way and would be given all sorts of facilities.

Sir, I shall not say anything more. My only request to the Government is that the minorities in East Pakistan should be protected, because it is our duty to protect them. If we do not give them any protection it means that we fail in our duty miserably.

Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): It is rather with a bit of hesitation that I approach this subject, namely the agreement of April 1950. My object is not so much to tell this House how much we have been benefited by this agreement and how at present that agreement is not working upto our expectation. Nevertheless, I think that I should give my own views not for the Members of this House, but perhaps because it may give some thought to our other friends, in the Pakistan Government, to reconsider the position to which this agreement has been brought down today. I must tell this House at the outset, that it was at a very critical time that this agreement was entered into, and our Prime Minister declared on the floor of this House that if Pakistan does not look to its duties, then perhaps some other methods will have to be adopted. It was at such a time that the Pakistan Prime Minister came to Delhi to enter into this solemn agreement. It was not without reason that this was done. It was for the benefit of both the nationals of India and also the nationals of Pakistan, that the two Prime Ministers entered into this agreement. I maintain that since this agreement was entered into, there was a complete change in both the dominions and the minorities in both the

dominions were immensely benefited. Otherwise we shudder to think what would have happened if this agreement was not there. As a result of that—and here I can speak with some authority with regard to North Bengal—lakhs and lakhs of people were benefited. Those who were stranded in Pakistan and perhaps also a large number in India had free movement for the time being. Then again, the displaced persons who had run to the other dominion forsaking all their belongings and immovable property went back to their respective homes and got back their properties. There were other results also of this agreement—mass conversion and abduction were also curtailed. The agreement has had its effect, and both the dominions have been immensely benefited. It was only for that purpose that this agreement was entered into.

Subsequently after the agreement both the Governments gave very strict orders to their district heads and also the high officials to observe the agreement. I know something about North Bengal in my own district where there were thousands and thousands of evacuees from Pakistan. As a result of hooliganism, vandalism and many such other things, thousands and thousands of peaceful people were driven out and they came over to Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar. That was the only place where they could come from that part of Bengal. After this agreement was entered into, it was the police Superintendent of Rangpur district who took stern action to see that not a single Muslim was allowed to occupy any house that has been evacuated by Hindus, and the evacuee Hindus were asked to go back. We on this side of this border could not make any arrangement for these people for the two or three months of very miserable existence they led in our territory. We could not give them any shelter, and could not give them sufficient food. And when we found that there was scope enough to go back to Pakistan, and that peace and tranquillity were there, they went back again in thousands. After six or nine months, I do not know why that superintendent of police was transferred from that district. Since then troubles started not in a large scale, but here and there, created by interested people. Things were going on this way, and sometimes over an area of five to ten square miles, there was vandalism, and people were again driven out. Some of them subsequently went back while others remained to eke out their miserable living, and very recently—

[Shri Barman]

I am speaking about incidents that happened two months ago—I fear that the Pakistan Government have not only forgotten the solemn pledge which has been entered into, but there are definite instructions to the contrary in the border areas of Pakistan.

My hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee has already mentioned about the Garo hill area. I shall therefore mention about what happened in the border area towards the truncated portion of West Bengal, in the districts of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar. A few days ago I tabled a question to the hon. Prime Minister and the reply had been in the affirmative, that is to say, according to Government's own statement, 300 peaceful families have been only two months ago driven out of their homes in day time by hooligans backed by Ansars and the Pakistan police. When these people were being driven out of their homes they were told just to pack up and go wherever they liked because they wanted those homes to rehabilitate their refugees. When the Pakistan police, who were standing by were asked what would become of them and why they were being driven out, they replied, "We do not know. You can, if you want, just make an exchange of properties". Exchange with whom? With the refugees? Nobody knows wherefrom they come and whether they have any property to exchange. How is it possible to exchange properties with such people? That was the version that I was given by people who came from that part.

So what is this? Is it not absolute denial of the solemn pledge? And what for? Does Pakistan think that they can drive out peaceful citizens in this way? Our Prime Minister, on whom Pakistan has got the greatest faith, I know, is himself now in a despondent mood. Many a time on the floor of this House our Prime Minister has expressed his helplessness. Is it not something that Pakistan should think over seriously? Why did they come at that time in April 1950 to enter into an agreement? Was it only because India would be benefited by it? Or was it because Pakistan also was in danger if such acts of vandalism had gone on in both the Dominions? Is it not for Pakistan to think again? If this sort of things go on, then it will not be possible for our Prime Minister also to maintain his patience very long; it is not for a single person to dominate the psychology of 36 crores of people. Does Pakistan think that

they can remain safe, whatever treatment they might mete out towards the minority in that Dominion? I think not, and it is a serious thing for the Pakistan Government to consider. I only want to submit to the Pakistan Government, if that be possible from this House, that they should not go on slumbering over this matter in this way if they really are interested in the minorities of both the Dominions. We on our part have acted up to the letter of the agreement and it is for them also to act upto the letter.

I only wish to say that it is time that our Government also should be a bit alert. When they themselves admit that the minorities in Pakistan are peaceful people and are being driven out in day time by hundreds and thousands, they should think over the matter seriously and find out what the remedy is. The agreement had worked well, I again say, but now that those solemn pledges given by Pakistan are not being acted upon, our Government has to think afresh what to do with those people. Only one suggestion I can make. I do not know what steps Government will take, but I submit that Government should at least constitute a Court of Inquiry, an Inquiry Commission, in order to be themselves satisfied as to the particulars of those incidents. If it be not possible with the agreement of the Pakistan Government to have a Joint Commission in order to enquire into these allegations of vandalism, of torture and of various other sorts of misdeeds, at least our Government, the Central Government I mean, should set up an Inquiry Commission of its own in order to be themselves satisfied.

This is what has happened. I have just mentioned this incident in my district and in the district of Cooch-Behar. I asked what is being done next? The Central Government replied that the Deputy Commissioners of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar are conferring with the District Magistrate of Rangpur. Should we leave matters at that or should these matters be taken up by the Central Government so that there may be no doubt about the allegations and about the incidents, and so that the Central Government may ask the Pakistan Government whether this sort of thing should be allowed to go on, and for how long?

The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Saturday, the 28th June 1952.